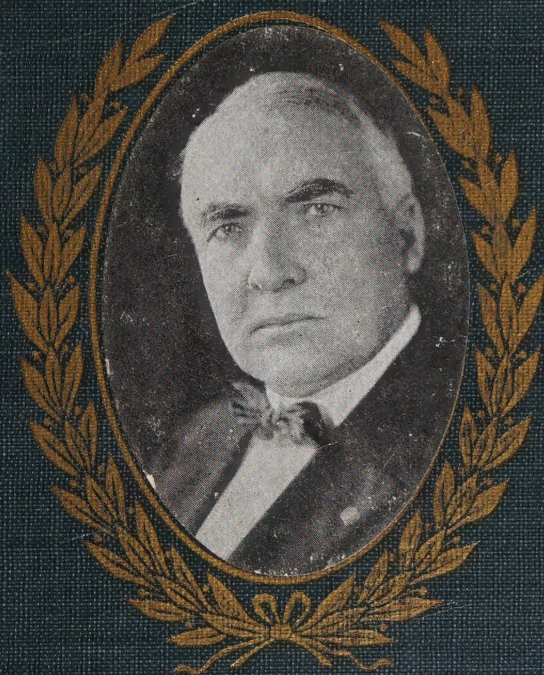
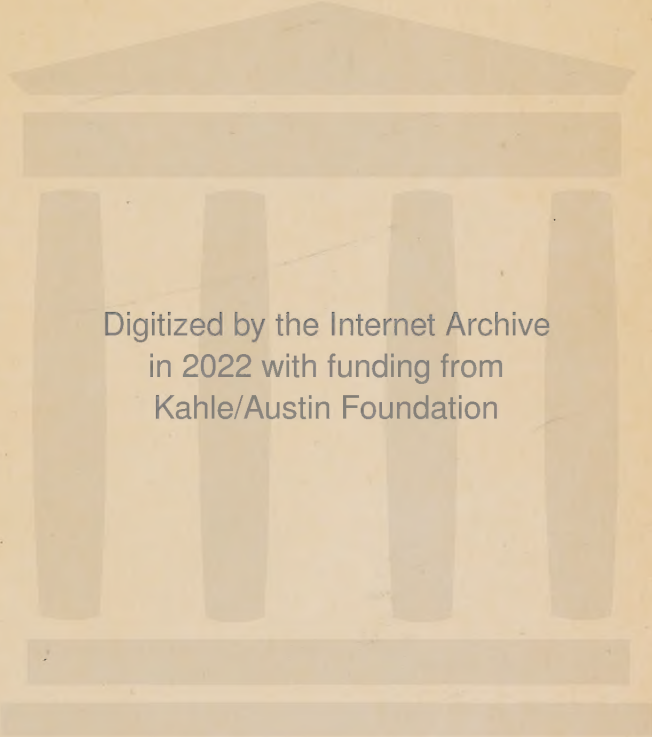


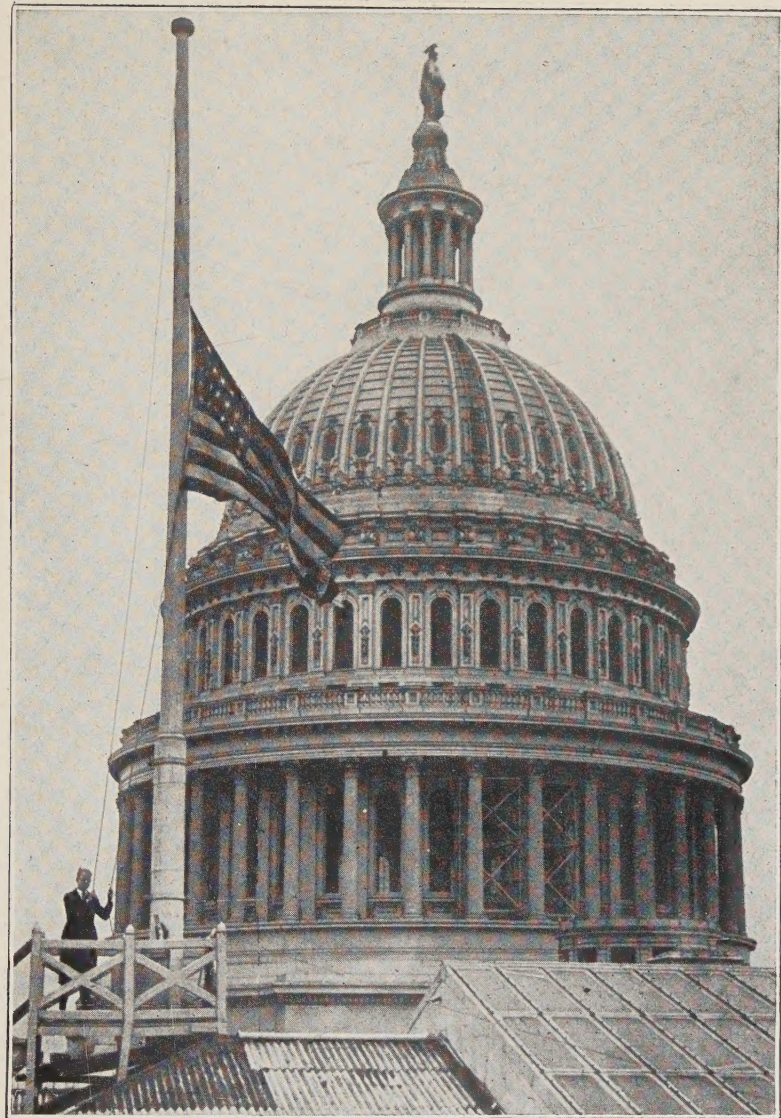
FROM FARM TO WHITE HOUSE
THE
ILLUSTRIOUS
LIFE AND WORK
of
WARREN G. HARDING



MEMORIAL EDITION



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Flag at Half Mast on the Capitol Dome, Washington, D. C., after the Sudden Death of President Harding at San Francisco.

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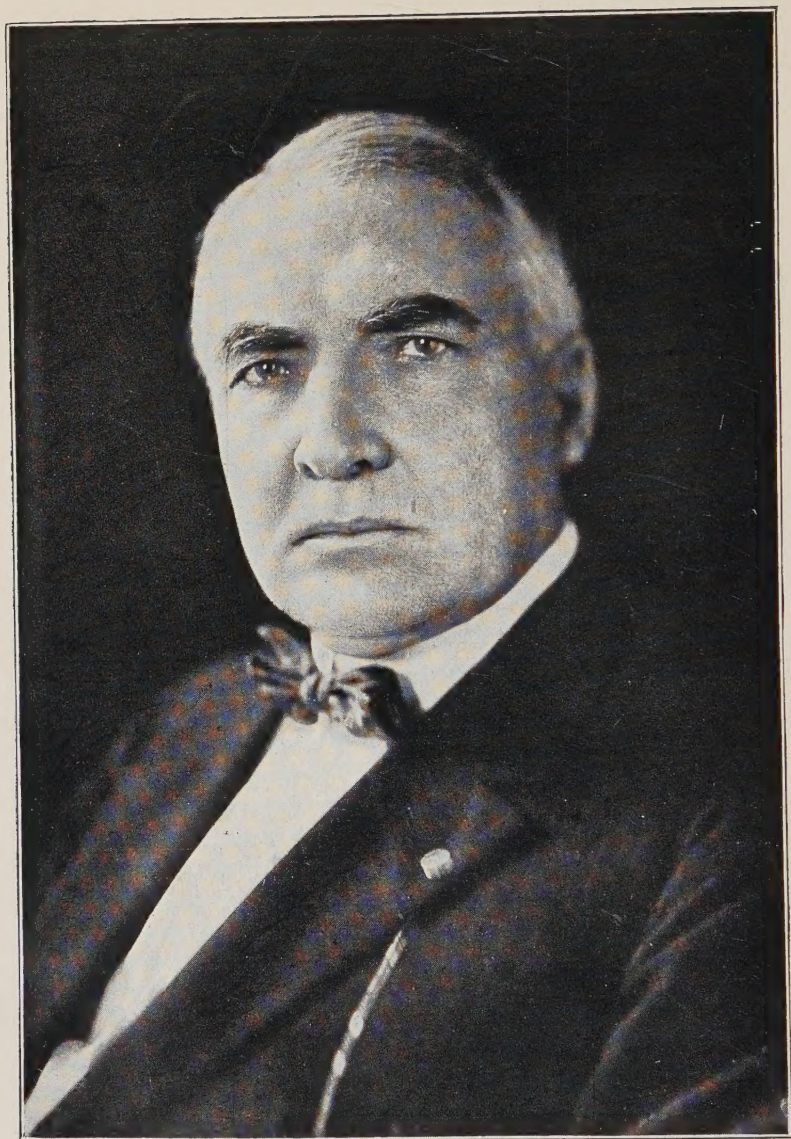


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Warren G. Harding, 29th President of the United States. This Is Regarded as One of the Finest Portraits of the Lamented President Who Was Taken Ill on His Return from a Visit to Alaska and Died Suddenly at San Francisco, August 2, 1923.

"The world has lost a great and good man"—Calvin Coolidge

THE ILLUSTRIOUS LIFE AND WORK OF WARREN G. HARDING

Twenty-ninth President of the United States

FROM FARM TO WHITE HOUSE

Complete Biography of the Chief Executive Whose Successful Career in Business and Politics Is Typical of American Life and Opportunity, an Exemplar for the Citizen and an Inspiration for the Young. Including the Interesting Record of His Boyhood Days, Working His Way Through College, Early Struggles, Progress in Politics, Sympathetic Assistance of His Devoted Wife, High Ideals in Life, Great Achievements, Untimely Death, and Unparalleled Tribute of Mourning America Along the 3,000-Mile Funeral Route.

- - BY - -

THOMAS H. RUSSELL, A. M., LL. D.

Author of "Life and Work of Theodore Roosevelt," "The World's Greatest War," "Mexico in Peace and War," "The Political Campaign of 1912"; Editor-in-chief of the International Business Library, Etc., Etc.

With an Introduction by HON. MEDILL McCORMICK,
U. S. Senator from Illinois.

Also Special Tributes to the Memory of President Harding by Gen. Leonard Wood, Gen. Pershing, William Jennings Bryan, Elihu Root, Theodore Roosevelt, James M. Cox, Brig.-Gen. Charles G. Dawes, Governors, Senators and Representatives in Congress, and Other Leaders in National Activities.

Copiously Illustrated With Photographs in Half-tone

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BRONX LIBRARY
NEW YORK

Dedicated

to the young people of America, to whom the
life of Warren Gamaliel Harding furnishes
a high ideal of American citizenship
and an inspiration for striving
after and attaining the
true success that
is based on
service.

LEAD, KINDLY LIGHT

(President Harding's Favorite Hymn)

Lead, kindly light, amid th' encircling gloom,
Lead Thou me on;
The night is dark, and I am far from home,
Lead Thou me on!
Keep Thou my feet! I do not ask to see
The distant scene; one step enough for me.

I was not ever thus, nor prayed that Thou
Shouldst lead me on;
I loved to choose and see my path; but now
Lead Thou me on!
I loved the garish day; and, spite of fears,
Pride ruled my will: remember not past years.

So long Thy power has blest me, sure it still
Will lead me on,
O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
The night is gone;
And with the morn those angel faces smile,
Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile.

—*John Henry (Cardinal) Newman.*

PREFACE

Six Presidents of the United States have died in office, but none has been more sincerely or more widely mourned than Warren Gamaliel Harding, whose untimely death was announced to the American people on the night of August 2, 1923, by the brief bulletin from the temporary presidential headquarters in the Palace Hotel, San Francisco: "President Harding died instantly and without warning tonight at 7:30."

Following with startling suddenness the earlier reports of the President's improved condition and probable recovery from the illness which had assailed him on his return to American shores from his visit to Alaska, the first ever paid to that interesting territory by a President, the news of Mr. Harding's death fairly stunned the American nation and shocked the entire world. Mourning was universal and the demand for detailed information of the late President's life and the scenes attending his death was widespread and insistent. This record of his career has been prepared as a result of that demand, which persists in American homes.

There is genuine inspiration for the young and an example and source of pride for every American citizen in the story of Warren Harding's life; while the devoted and capable cooperation of his beloved wife throughout his career as described in these pages, is equally an inspiration and example for American womanhood.

In him we had American manhood, bearing high honor modestly, doing great duties simply. In her we have American womanhood, true, devoted, meeting bravely the supreme test.

The nation called Warren Harding from a small midwestern town to its highest office and its most burdensome task. He had served his State with fidelity and the same fidelity was given to his country. He gave us his life. That is the simple, honest

meaning of the tragically sudden termination of his career, which was well summarized by a political opponent on the day following his death, as follows:

"The nation has lost, in the prime of his manhood and energy, a sincere friend, an earnest and honest public servant.

"President Harding was a typical American. He would have been glad to call himself an average American. He built his career by hard work, intelligence, and honesty, as millions of other Americans have done.

"He lived in a 'small town.' The atmosphere in which he dwelt, thought, and developed was that of the typical, average, prosperous, conservative American home. There were scores of houses like his own in the peaceful streets of Marion. There are millions of similar homes in this country.

"President Harding represented the thought and feeling of those American homes.

"He was careful, conscientious, conservative, honest.

"He felt that his duty was to take good care of that which was intrusted to him, rather than to change and improve it by new and original ideas.

"He was faithful to his party, to his friends, and to what he believed to be the ideal of American life and government.

"The world will honor him as an honest, earnest man, and the United States will mourn in his untimely death the loss of a good and loyal friend."

Few statesmen have been thus appreciated by their opponents, and this eulogy of President Harding is typical of the high esteem in which his life and memory are held by the American people, and which finds more complete expression in the following pages. May this record of his career be of service to American citizenship.

Thos. H. Russell

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INTRODUCTION

BY HON. MEDILL McCORMICK,
United States Senator from Illinois

[In the following concise statement, Senator McCormick, personal friend of President Harding and valued supporter of his administration, sums up the chief characteristics of the man we mourn and the effect of his life and work upon the American people. The points thus briefly introduced by the Senator are all elaborated in subsequent pages of this volume.]

President Harding exemplified in his own life, as few men are able to do, the opportunities for success and for service which we Americans like to believe are open to all in this country. He was a typically tolerant, friendly, sanguine, successful American. This was the man we knew.

It would be rash to seek precisely to appraise the part which he has played in his history of his country, but this we now know, and know certainly: That as he brought to the task laid upon him by his election that good will, that generosity, that all-embracing kindness which characterized him, so did he inspire the government under his direction, and the great people over whose destinies he presided, with the spirit which animated him.

After the strife and bitterness of war, he instilled in our hearts a new concord at home, and good will for all mankind abroad.

THE LESSON OF THE PRESIDENT'S DEATH

Editorial comment upon the death of President Harding was unanimous in appreciation of that "all-embracing kindliness" to which Senator McCormick refers. It was also noted by many editors that Warren G. Harding, like his predecessor in the White House, was a victim of the staggering exactions of the Presidency. "Sheer exhaustion, brought on by two-and-a-half years of grinding work and worry, is held primarily responsible for Mr. Harding's death," said a Washington correspondent, "and his untimely passing has demonstrated to government officials the dire necessity of lessening the crushing burdens and multitudinous duties of the President of the United States."

The duties of the Presidency are now three times greater than they were in President Roosevelt's day, according to keen observers in the national capital; and it is recalled how the health of Presidents before Harding was adversely affected. We are reminded that Grover Cleveland ended his second term prematurely old; that "Roosevelt was never the same man physically after his Washington experience," and that Woodrow Wilson broke down under the strain of a speech-making tour somewhat similar to that which sapped the vitality of President Harding.

* * *

"Men of ordinary physique and discretion can not be President and live, if the strain be not somehow relieved," said Woodrow Wilson in his book on "Constitutional Government," written before he became President; and the statement was prophetic of his own collapse. "The Presidency is the hardest job in the world," according to a Boston editor; and when Mr. Harding lay ill in San Francisco, Vice-President Coolidge declared that he had "worn himself down in the service of his country." It is therefore not surprising that the death of President Harding has caused a strong current of public opinion in favor of lightening

the burdens of the office, somehow or other, so as to give a better chance to our Presidents, who "usually enter the White House at an age when physical power is on the decline".

The lesson for the American people in Mr. Harding's death is that "we require too much of our Presidents, whether occupied with official duties or ostensibly on vacation". By the time President Harding had arrived in San Francisco, it will be remembered, he had traveled approximately 7,000 miles in all kinds of temperatures and under all kinds of conditions, some of them not easy. He had exposed himself to all varieties of weather in addressing crowds from the rear platform of his special train. In 39 days he slept only three nights outside his car or off his ship. He kept almost constantly in touch with affairs at Washington, even when in Alaska, and—perhaps as telling as anything upon his general condition—he omitted his daily periods of exercise and recreation.

"Now most men cannot perform in that fashion when they reach middle age. Presidents are human, although they are sometimes expected to be superhuman.

"Little journeys, now and then; brief trips for some urgently considered cause, may be all right enough. But in these days, when any message a President has for the public reaches them the next day the country over, the long and wearing tours should be abandoned."

* * *

"HE BELONGS TO HISTORY"

"It is a thought not to be put aside," said a Western writer, "that President Harding has been sacrificed to the duties of his high position and to his fine sense of what that position implied and demanded. He has stepped into the breach and accepted the last summons.

"At such a time words are but feeble things. In such an hour man may but bow the head and acknowledge the supreme will of Him who is above all rulers. The little child falters a prayer that God's will be done, and the statesman finds no phrase more fit wherewith to acknowledge his own feebleness, humility and faith.

"For those of us who are left to carry on the fight and carry forward the standard, there can be no repining nor any useless regret. Mr. Harding is secure in the hearts of the people, of whom he was one. His place is with those who have done their duty and have turned to their God in the consciousness that now they may be suffered to fall upon rest.

"We are under the shock and the shadow of a grievous visitation. We do but know that a great land, greatly stirred, is yet untouched and unshaken. As to our glorious dead, he belongs to history."

CHAPTER I.

WARREN G. HARDING THE MAN

A Massive and Striking Figure—Calm and Dignified—A Lovable Personality—The Smile of Cordiality—A Good Talker and a Good Listener—Fond of His Fellow-Men's Society and Especially Fond of Children—A Lover of Clean Sports and of Outdoor Life.

An imperishable monument to Warren Gamaliel Harding, twenty-ninth President of the United States, was erected in the hearts of the American people as his inanimate remains were borne in an unparalleled progress across a continent, through an avenue of sorrow three thousand miles in length, stretching from coast to coast. It is a monument to the character and virtues of a typical American citizen, a great and good man.

Among the Presidents of the United States there have been soldiers, scholars and sages—a number of remarkable men and few that were really commonplace; but, as one of his Ohio friends has well said, "Warren G. Harding brought a new type to the list of chief executives. He was the knightliest political figure of his generation, certainly the most chivalrous of the Presidents. The phrase, 'the Plumed Knight,' which Ingersoll applied to Blaine, belonged of right to Harding. His imposing stature and strong, engaging face and the fine and easy dignity of his bearing were the outward signs of a nobility which had something almost feudal in it.

"We call him knightly because, with the knight—of Arthurian romance if not, strictly speaking, of reality—the way he fought

meant more to him than the result of the combat. He must speak his antagonist fair, and fight him fair. The phrase, 'anything to win,' meant nothing to him. And the knight could tilt with an opponent and yet treat him like a brother-in-arms, nor sully his own victory by ungenerous acts. That Harding followed this chivalrous code, an incident or two will suffice to show. When Franklin D. Roosevelt, Democratic candidate for Vice-President in 1920, protested that he had been misquoted, Harding made retraction at once and by telegraph, without quibbling and without investigation; he took the other man's word absolutely. He so demeaned himself toward Democratic opponents that Bryan, thrice candidate for President, was glad to entertain him in his Florida home; that Wilson, twice President, kept undiminished his personal regard for the man, and that Underwood, a potential candidate for President, accepted appointment from him on the conference for limitation of armament and threw his powerful aid to the ratification of its results in the Senate.

"Of course, Harding had his phases of opportunism, but no will to win led him to do injustice to another man. He seemed incapable of a mean act. He would not requite evil for evil; and he made no outcry when things went against him. Fair always to his opponents, he was intensely loyal to his friends. The cold strategy of sacrificing a friend to his own interest or to a political exigency was not for him. So it happened that he made occasional nominations to office which were open to criticism, yet the level of his appointments was high. Mean men did not seek his friendship, average men broadened under its influence, and exceptional men were keen to serve under him, knowing that their capacities would have ungrudged opportunity.

"All this was a sort of feudal chivalry adapted to twentieth century politics. But there was in the man something more—a patience unknown to the impulsive knights of the Table Round, an instinct for associated action that was stranger to the days of

the Lone Hand, a sense of country and commonweal that was not born until the last knight rode below the horizon. The greatness of Harding was not that of a masterful intellect. It was of a heart that gave its best, a compelling good will that smoothed the paths to accomplishment, an unselfishness that somehow made its own effectual adjustments with the compromises, calculations and self-seeking that have become a part of politics."

Not yet can one appraise the work of President Harding, and not in a generation will its benefits be completely harvested. But in the service of its great dead the American nation has a treasure that cannot be alienated. As a new chapter opens in the varied volume of American history, we can recall with pride that Harding revived the fine flower of courtesy in political life—a flower that should not be allowed to fade.

Massive in frame and feature, a figure to attract a second look in any crowd—that was Warren G. Harding, the man.

Although slightly less than six feet in height, he carried his 210 pounds without any hint of obesity, and his unusually broad and high forehead and heavy, square jaw rounded out an impression of force and distinction.

Contrasting sharply with his almost silver-gray hair were markedly thick black eyebrows which almost masked a pair of calm, gray eyes. In repose his face took on the aspect of severity so often seen in his photographs, but when he talked or listened the lines were broken by a smile that radiated cordiality.

Mr. Harding was both a good conversationalist and a good listener, and he loved to rub elbows with his fellow man. His first official order as President was that the gates to the White House grounds be thrown open, and at the start he received visitors at almost any hour of the day. This took up so much of his time, however, that the establishment of a fixed hour for this purpose was decided upon.

Each day after he had cleared his desk and was ready for lunch, he received groups of visitors in the executive offices, shaking hands and exchanging a smile and a word with each individual. White House officers estimated that an average of 1,000 persons called upon him daily. He revived also the more formal functions, such as the New York receptions and the state and diplomatic dinners.

Mr. Harding was very fond of children though he had none of his own, and Easter egg rolling on the White House lawns was made an annual event. He and Mrs. Harding mingled freely with the little tots and appeared to find much enjoyment in watching them play.

In his rest hours Mr. Harding liked to have around him his personal friends and intimates, in whose company he could put aside the dignity and cares of state and with whom he could swap stories and reminiscences. It was not surprising, then, that, like Cleveland before him, he frequently slipped away from the White House in the evening to pay informal calls upon former associates in the Senate and other close friends.

Golf was Mr. Harding's favorite recreation and whenever public affairs permitted he sought the links of a Washington country club. His friends of the Senate frequently were his opponents, and in such matches there always developed a keen, though friendly, rivalry. By virtue of his position as an editor and publisher, he participated also in the annual golf tournaments of the Washington correspondents, among whom his kindly, lovable nature and genuine democracy made him many warm friends.

President Harding, as will be shown in the following pages, passed his infancy, youth and manhood within the confines of two Ohio counties. With the exception of his service as State Senator and Lieutenant Governor his activities until his election to the United States Senate had been centered upon interests, professional and property, within a narrow geographical area.

But Mr. Harding never was a man of narrow or provincial outlook. There was little of the "backwoods" about his early environment. He passed his formative years in the metropolis of a rich agricultural region known for the variety as well as the wealth of its products, a city located upon active lines of communication between the East and the West, the North and the South, a transfer point of importance and, in fact, "no mean city," which in 1922 celebrated its centennial anniversary, and in 1919 turned out from its factories manufactured products valued in excess of \$20,000,000.

Even in the early eighties this environment was by no means primitive, and it has advanced steadily in wealth and cultured cosmopolitanism. President Harding entered the White House a splendidly typical product not only of the Buckeye State, but of that section of it in which he was born, struggled and won success, and which, in return, he had enriched by his long and intimate association.

President Harding has been referred to as a man of engaging personal qualities, who had made no distinct achievement before he became President. Much has been written about his being a representative of "Main Street." He was a resident of a "small town" as reckoned by citizens of New York, Chicago and other large cities, but his success before he entered public life was substantial.

A trait that endeared President Harding to millions of his fellow countrymen was a certain quality of homeliness. This was the quality that made him liked by his fellow-townsmen, Democrats as well as Republicans, and the President knew no politics where his personal relations with his neighbors were concerned.

His secretary, George B. Christian, was a Democrat. Perhaps President Harding's happy faculty in keeping apart his personal and political relations was never shown better than in his letter to Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi, a Democratic leader,

thanking him for an article in which Senator Harrison had referred in a complimentary way to President and Mrs. Harding and had written with delicacy and feeling concerning a visit of the President's father, a Union veteran, to a reunion of Confederate veterans in New Orleans.

In the letter to Senator Harrison President Harding said:

"I have just been reading the article which you contributed to The New Orleans Item of May 5, in which you make very pleasing reference to the participation of my father in the Confederate reunion in New Orleans. I am writing to thank you for the kindly things you have said concerning him and his visit, and the courteous reference you have made to the present residents of the White House.

"In your capacity of chief troublemaker in the Senate you have said some things which have made me lay down my newspaper and turn to a fresh pipe of tobacco for consolation. This very generous and considerate article has antidoted all the things which have gone before. You will be interested to know that my father was very greatly pleased by the article and that he had the time of his life in meeting the Confederate veterans at New Orleans."

Mr. Harding was the only Baptist President. For many years he was a member of and for the latter years of his residence there a Trustee of Trinity Baptist Church, Marion, Ohio. Sunday morning, if he was in town, found Mr. Harding regularly in his pew. When Mr. Harding went to Washington as Senator from Ohio he and Mrs. Harding began attending Calvary Baptist Church there. They continued this when Mr. Harding became President.

The Rev. Dr. William S. Abernathy, pastor of Calvary Church, and Mr. Harding were close personal friends. It was Dr. Abernathy who, on invitation of the President, offered the opening prayer at the Conference on the Limitation of Armament. This

prayer subsequently provoked criticism because it did not contain the name of Christ.

Mr. Harding's Marion pastor died on July 20, 1923. He was the Rev. Dr. Thomas H. McAfee. Because of ill-health he was pastor emeritus. When Dr. McAfee was stricken Mr. Harding came forward and pledged the salary of a new pastor so that Dr. McAfee might retain the title and receive compensation. This Mr. Harding continued to pay. Dr. McAfee was stricken in July, 1920, only a few days before he was to have taken part in the ceremonies in which Mr. Harding was officially notified of his candidacy. The pastor never recovered.

Recently the third congress of the Baptist World Alliance in Stockholm, Sweden, sent a message of greeting "To the President of the United States, his Excellency, Warren G. Harding." The Northern Baptist Convention was to have met in Washington, that city being chosen because the President was a Baptist, and Mr. Harding was to have delivered an address to it.

President Harding had accepted an invitation to preside at the World Conference on Faith and Order which is scheduled to be held in Washington, probably in May, 1925. Bishop William T. Manning was one of those who issued the invitation.

Mr. Harding numbered many clergymen of different denominations among his intimate friends. One of these was Bishop William F. Anderson, resident Methodist Bishop in Cincinnati.

President Harding always was a distinguished man in appearance. Sturdy, broadshouldered, with good features and a head of gray hair setting off his forehead, he had always a splendid presence; always gave the impression of strength, of ability, of firmness and ruggedness. In his inaugural address on March 4, 1921, with its declaration "We do not mean to be entangled," he gave the same impression of firmness and determination that his appearance conveyed. Never did a man more thoroughly "look the part" of President than Harding.

Mr. Harding was extremely careful in matters of dress. He was always immaculate. In meeting people he was very engaging. He shook hands always as if he were really delighted, notwithstanding that he might have met hundreds similarly within the hour. He had the reputation of being always courteous, no matter what the circumstances.

Men who knew him well liked him well, even though they might differ with him totally on important questions. He had a very pleasing personality, was dignified and almost courtly in his bearing, but he never failed to see the point of a joke and his smile was one of his most engaging characteristics.

President Harding was inaugurated March 4, 1921, dispensing with the merely social festivities traditionally appertaining to that event. He gathered about him a Cabinet composed of men of unusual prominence and caliber, and was fortunate in the selection of appointive officials in all branches of the Government. He directed the transition of the administration of public affairs from one party to another with rare tact and skill and began his first term under auspicious circumstances.

A longer perspective is needed from which to appraise with certainty the permanent achievements of President Harding's Administration. The popularity of the President with all classes of the American public was clearly manifest, but the complications of this post-war era, domestic and foreign, taxed his own and his advisers' skill and patriotism to their limit. Even so, the record of his two years in the White House is one of honorable service and achievement, terminated by the supreme sacrifice in the line of duty.

How Warren G. Harding the man—the well-beloved “W. G.”—was regarded by his “home folks” in Marion, Ohio, is attested by the following editorial, which appeared in the Marion Star on the day after his death:

"GREATEST AND BEST BELOVED"

"President Harding is dead

"This brief message, flashed around the globe, brought sorrow to the nation and touched the tenderest sympathies of the liberty-loving people of every land. But here in Marion, where we knew and loved him as Harding, the man; Harding, the fellow citizen; Harding, the neighbor, and Harding, the friend—rather than Harding, the President—the blackest grief obtains.

"Those who were close to him can hardly escape the feeling that it must have been given to him to have seen into the future, when, robust and the picture of health, he told them shortly before his inauguration that he would never come out of the Presidency alive. Those close to him know that, contrary to the general view, he left the Senate with the deepest regret to enter the Presidency. Those close to him know that he realized that the burden he was about to assume was such as never attempted by mortal man, yet they hoped for the best. Now in sorrow they realize that he was a true prophet—that he knowingly gave himself a sacrifice to his country.

"And it may be said here that his great heart—which was alike his strength and his weakness—proved his undoing. Of all our Presidents, he was the most democratic at heart—the most approachable. He added to his already mighty burden by taking on those of others. No appeal, no matter how lowly, was passed over by him. He gave freely—too freely—of his time and effort. He never counted the cost nor spared himself. In this regard the course which was his as a citizen was his as the President. The load he was bearing became staggering, and this, and the fact that he was weakened by the attack of influenza some months since, and from which he never recovered, made him especially susceptible to the subtle attack of ptomaine poisoning which led to his death.

"Full appreciation of Warren G. Harding, the President, will not be written today—probably not in this generation—but posterity will weigh his achievements as President—and they have been many and great—at their full worth.

"But the measure of Warren G. Harding, the man, is today beyond all question. That he was a man among men all will concede. None will question his bigness of heart, his greatness of soul. He thought and lived above the little things of life, and yet was so thoroughly human that to know him was to love him, and thus it is that today, while the nation mourns, our people are stunned by the passing of our citizen and friend—greatest and best beloved."

How universal was the appreciation of President Harding's life and character and of his public service, State, National, and International, let the following typical tributes attest.

CHAPTER II.

TRIBUTES TO HIS MEMORY

Members of His Cabinet, United States Senators, Congressmen, Governors of States, and Personal Friends Unite in Memorial Testimony to President Harding's Patriotic Service and Lovable Nature—All Recognize in Him a Great and Good Man—Messages from Foreign Potentates and Statesmen.

The passing of President Harding was the signal for a flood of spontaneous testimony to his personal virtues and his patriotic services. With unanimity that came as somewhat of a surprise to the nation at large, friends and opponents alike joined in testifying to his kindly and lovable nature, his earnest desire to serve his country aright and promote its best interests, his true democracy, and his firm intent to promote "peace on earth, good will to men."

It is fitting that some of these tributes should find an early place in this memorial volume, and the following expressions, typical of the universal sentiment, are recorded at this time as evidence of the impress left by Warren Harding upon the public men of the United States and foreign nations.

U. S. Senator James E. Watson, Indiana.—"It is needless to say that the death of the President came as a great shock to me. I had known Warren G. Harding for 30 years and intimately for 25 years. Much of the time we were boon companions, having thought alike on most public questions and having acted together in many public assemblages.

"The President was a remarkable combination of heart and conscience and brain. He was a man of the noblest impulses and

the purest purposes, and no person was ever actuated by more beautiful sentiment or sustained by loftier consideration of right and justice. He never entirely divorced his head from his heart in his estimate either of men or measures and usually his decisions were right.

"He was one of the most lovable companions and one of the most genial men that ever has appeared in our public life. No matter how much one differed with him on public questions, nobody hated him and few ever became even angry with him.

"The charm of his personality and the sincerity of his purpose impressed themselves upon all with whom he came in contact and always disarmed criticism and many times brought acquiescence, if not actual support from those who originally opposed his plans. Kindly, considerate, genial and patient as he was, however, he usually clung to his purpose with great tenacity and once having formed his conclusion he was turned aside from his intended course with great difficulty.

"The loss of any good man is always a source of regret to any community, but the death of so noble a citizen, so eminent a patriot and so great a leader, as well as so steadfast a Christian, can neither be estimated nor measured.

"To those who were permitted to be near him and enjoy the charm of his presence and the kindness of his personality, his untimely death is a tragedy, the pall of which will hang over them for years to come."

Brig.-Gen. Charles G. Dawes, first Director of the Bureau of the Budget.—"The method of selecting the President of our great Republic inevitably tends toward the elevation to that place of a citizen who in his life, character, and purpose best typifies the ruling spirit of his time.

"In the midst of that chaos of passion, perplexity, and even agony of the public mind which preceded the Civil War there

came Abraham Lincoln, who we now know, personified his time and people as did no other.

"Chosen by the same method when the great cataclysm of history had just swept over the world, engulfing the United States with it in problems of unfathomed importance to humanity here and elsewhere, Warren G. Harding, best of all citizens, typified in his high place of power the true and enduring spirit of his time and people.

"President Harding so loved the people that, if necessary to serve them best, he would willingly bear their criticism.

"He was a strong and determined man, who moved in his own way all the more effectively and surely because he was patient and kindly with those who differed with him, but his kindness was never weakness and his patience never cowardice.

"As we mourn him we cannot but recognize that his life was complete. Others must follow in his path because he has left no other way. He is dead, but he died knowing that he had brought the leading nations together in their greatest contact for future peace.

"Would he have asked more? I think so—and even that was given him—that he should die peacefully with his last thoughts gladdened by the presence alone of his wife, who in her strength and sweetness and gentleness of character is so much like him. Alone with her as she read to him, weary and worn from great effort, words of appreciation and kindness for what he had accomplished for his people."

Hon. Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce.—"The Almighty has taken the President from his work. There is loss to the nation of a great leader and to many thousands a beloved personal friend.

"At my first meeting with him during the war his greeting was:

'Neighbor, I want to be helpful.' Being helpful to his neighbors was Warren Harding's ideal. He envisaged the whole American people as homefolks and neighbors. He loved to think and talk on what made good neighbors. He liked to feel of America as a good neighbor in the world.

"He came to the presidency with the burden of reconstruction; in a time of high national emotion, of bitter prejudice, of deep conflict in thought, of unparalleled dislocation of economic life; of unemployment.

"It was his determination to soften acerbities and to secure progress and healing through helpfulness and patient conciliation. He felt deeply that hard driving would open unhealable breaches among our people.

"He applied geniality and good will to his tremendous tasks in a way that amounted to genius. But underneath was resolute moral courage and steadfastness. He was the man needed for our times. He became the rallying point of constructive forces in our country. His success in these tasks has come into every home. So generous and unselfish has been his outpouring of service that it has worn out the human body of our leader."

Hon. Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior.—"A loyal friend, a loving husband, a great President has been summoned. Since the death of Lincoln our nation has not lost so powerful a factor of safety. It is true, of course, that in all national crisis a great leader has been brought forward. Such men were not self-proclaimed, but a Providence sought them out for a distressed people, as President Harding was found for us.

"Worn, but courageous, death stealthily found him enjoying a vision of prosperity for his people and planning for a world peace between nations."

U. S. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge.—"In the clearness of vision which death brings, his really great achievements as President,

both abroad and at home, will be understood and given the high place which will belong to them in history. President Harding was patriotic and disinterested in the largest and noblest measure, a thorough American. No thought of self—no tempting of ambition, ever came between him and what he believed to be his public duty. With him and in every thought his country always came first.”

U. S. Senator Hiram Johnson.—“The death of the President is a terrible shock to everybody, and particularly so to those who have been associated with him. His lovable and high qualities endeared him to all who were privileged to know him, and enshrined him in the hearts of the whole people. In his death the nation—indeed, the world—suffers an irreparable loss.”

William Jennings Bryan.—“President Harding’s death is a shock to the nation and a real sorrow to all who knew him personally. He was a big-hearted, lovable fellow and made friends of all who had the honor of his acquaintance. He was a splendid illustration of the possibilities under a government like ours. He made his way from his place among the common people to the highest official position within the reach of American men. It is too early to fix his relative position among the nation’s great men, but the sudden ending of his career will bring universal grief.

“I had the pleasure of knowing him and Mrs. Harding for many years. She had been his greatest political aid.”

Gen. Leonard Wood, Governor-General of the Philippines.—“The President’s death is a grave national calamity. It brings with it a feeling of deep sorrow to every American. It deprives the nation at this critical period of a leadership which has shown itself devoted to peace, a better understanding among nations, the welfare of mankind throughout the world, and those principles and policies which have made us what we are as a nation. His death brings to me a sense of deep personal loss and sorrow.”

Chief Justice William H. Taft, of the United States Supreme Court.—“The loss is a deep, personal sorrow to me. The loss to the people of the United States cannot be overestimated. He had impressed the whole country with his nobility of character, the sweetness of his nature, his wonderful patience, breadth of vision, high patriotism and his love of human kind. His death at this juncture is a great calamity.”

Hon. Chas. E. Hughes, Secretary of State.—“No words can express the grief into which we are plunged by this calamity. The nation has suffered an irreparable loss.

“A quiet, brave, strong leader has fallen, overborne by the burden he was carrying. He was not only an able and faithful public servant, but one of nature’s noblemen; a true-hearted, generous spirit. He has left with the people he loved a rare example of gentleness and of the most conscientious and unselfish devotion to public duty.”

Hon. H. C. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture.—“Mr. Harding became President at a time of unprecedented economic and political chaos, world wide in its scope. He seemed to have been brought up for just such a time. His common sense, patience, tolerance, kindness, steadfastness—his high sense of duty, his experience in public life, his acquaintance with public men—combined to fit him peculiarly for what were in many ways the most difficult tasks ever imposed upon a President. Only those who have been privileged to see behind the scenes can fully value the great service President Harding gave to his country and, indeed, to the entire world in this critical period.”

Hon. Jas. J. Davis, Secretary of Labor.—“President Harding handled successfully greater problems than any predecessor in the White House, either in peace or war. We were drawn together by a common interest in social welfare work. He was my friend for fifteen years, and he was as great as a friend to thousands as



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Senator Harding, When Nominee for President, with Mrs. Harding and His Father,
Dr. George T. Harding, on the Lawn of the Harding Home at Marion, Ohio.



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Mrs. George Tyron Harding (Deceased), Mother of Warren G. Harding, President
of the United States.



Mrs. Warren G. Harding in 1922, When She Delighted the Women in Politics by Attending a Luncheon at the Woman's National Republican Headquarters in New York City.



Home of Senator Harding at 380 Mt. Vernon Avenue Marion, Ohio. Where the Senator's Campaign for the Presidency Was Centered. In the Upper Corner Is a View of the House in the Village of Blooming Grove, Morrow County, Ohio. Where Warren G. Harding Was Born on November 2, 1865.

he was great as President. Mr. Harding's genius was that of the great arbitrator of men's minds. In dealing with labor he was at his best, for he knew the misery, want and suffering of women and children when industrial communities were torn by strikes. He could appreciate and sympathize with the worker's desire to strike; but his great ambition was to settle disputes at the council table before the workers left their jobs, not after they suffered from unemployment."

Hon. Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury.—"The death of President Harding at this moment is a real calamity for our country, and, I believe, for the world. Personality and ability such as he possessed were needed most in the United States at this unsettled period in the world's affairs. I am sure my countrymen have felt his influence was a stabilizing and a conservative one. There was evident a growing confidence in his judgment and in his sincerity."

Hon. Edwin Denby, Secretary of the Navy.—"I can think of nothing at present except the loss of a dear friend and chief. Every one loved President Harding and Mrs. Harding, who so nobly supported him in the trials of his great office and to whom the heart of the world will go out in sympathy. Mr. Harding will be mourned as a gentleman of lofty spirit and a President of great ability."

Hon. H. M. Daugherty, U. S. Attorney-General.—"My personal relations with the late President, aside from my official association, were such and my admiration and deep affection for this distinguished man so great that, for the present at least, I know I will be excused from saying more than this."

Hon. Harry S. New, Postmaster-General.—"In the death of President Harding the greatest stabilizing figure in the world of this period, when most things are out of balance, is removed. I do not think it too much to say that he occupied just that relation, both to domestic and to world affairs."

Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, Acting Secretary of the Navy (to Mrs. Harding).—"In behalf of the officers and men of the Navy and the Marine Corps, I wish to express to you their deep sympathy in your overwhelming sorrow. We realize the great loss the death of the President has brought to the country. His life will serve as a model of unsparing service and devotion."

George B. Christian, Jr., Secretary to the late President.—"I have lost the best friend I ever had and so has every American."

Governor Clifton M. Walker, of Georgia.—"As individuals and as a nation we are shocked by the suddenness of our loss. It is as though a friend we have known and respected for many years were taken away."

U. S. Senator Alva B. Adams, Colorado.—"I am very sincerely shocked and grieved. He was a lovable and an admirable man. Our country is better for his having lived."

U. S. Senator R. B. Howell, Nebraska.—"The loss is a great shock and will be a source of real grief and sorrow to us, the nation."

Hon. Charles S. Deneen, Former Governor of Illinois.—"The unexpected death of our President is a profound shock to the entire world. He had so won our hearts and confidence that he seemed to be a part of everything—our thoughts, our business, as well as our national policies and international relations. There will be universal grief on the passing away of this strong general; this brave, tolerant, clear-sighted and far-seeing statesman, whose noblest ambition was to lead his countrymen along the path of prosperity and peace."

Dr. Walter Dill Scott, President Northwestern University.—"This is a terrible thing—a great national loss. I had occasion to confer with the President three times and regarded him as one of

the finest characters in America. It is with profound sorrow that I receive the staggering news of his death."

Judge Elbert H. Gary, president United States Steel Corporation.—"The whole world will mourn the death of President Harding. He was a good man and a good President, one of the best we have had. Always his influence on business conditions was valuable. In the main his policies were entirely acceptable.

"It is possible that the removal of President Harding will cause some apprehension in financial and industrial circles, but the incoming President is a man of sterling qualities, is self-poised, courageous, aggressive, and strong in the right kind of progress. Particularly does he stand for vindication of the law. He is absolutely impartial, not discriminating in favor of or against any class or interest. He will give a fine and satisfactory administration. No well-thinking, well-informed man will find reason for complaint. The business interests of the country are safe."

Judge Robert S. Lovett, Chairman of the Board, Union Pacific Railroad.—"The death of the President of the United States is inevitably a shock and grief to all patriotic Americans regardless of party. President Harding's death is especially so because of its suddenness and his genial personality, which endeared him to everybody. The country is extremely fortunate, however, in having such a clear-thinking, level-headed man as Vice-President Coolidge to step into the great office in such emergency."

Governor Pat M. Neff, of Texas.—"He was a living example of good Americanism as a private citizen, a member of the United States Senate and as the country's chief executive."

Alvin M. Owsley, National Commander of the American Legion.—"He typified the highest values in our national life as no President has since Lincoln. He achieved true greatness through his dominant simplicity. President Harding did not die as men should. We Americans demanded too much of him.

"We honor and revere him as we deeply mourn the tragic termination of the life he consecrated to the service of this, our country."

Representative Julius Kahn, of California.—"President Harding and his wife were beloved by everybody that came in contact with them. The welfare of his country was uppermost in his mind at all times. His death has come as a terrific shock. Everybody was hoping that he was on the road to recovery. We are so stunned over the death it is practically impossible to talk about it."

Hon. Myron T. Herrick, American Ambassador to France.—"President Harding's death comes as a shock and a crushing blow to an overtired and nervous world. It is a disaster of the first magnitude.

"I have known Mr. Harding for a long time. He was big-hearted, with a good brain, and he grew constantly stronger in office. His death is a loss to the whole world.

"Mr. Harding was Lieutenant-Governor with me in Ohio when I was elected Governor in 1903. We, together with Marcus A. Hanna, candidate for Senator, made what was called 'the campaign of three H's, Hanna, Herrick and Harding.' We were elected by the biggest majority Ohio had ever returned up to that time.

"The President's position has become almost more than human strength can endure. No man can come out of it in sound health. It is time the office was reorganized so as to relieve the Chief Executive of some of his burdens.

"Mr. Harding was a great-hearted, lovable man. I am grieved and shocked to learn of his passing."

Col. E. M. House.—"I share the grief of every American who knew Mr. Harding. He was a kindly and lovable character and held the confidence and affection of our people."

Elihu Root, Former Secretary of State.—"It is a great calamity for the country to lose President Harding's courage and kindli-

ness of disposition, his great experience in public affairs and his essential right-mindedness. I had come to have a feeling of warm personal regard as well as admiration for him."

Cordell Hull, Chairman Democratic National Committee.—"I join with the great body of Americans in deploring the sudden and untimely death of President Harding, which has shocked his fellow-citizens everywhere and which is a great loss to his country. The heart of the nation will go out to Mrs. Harding, the heroic and devoted wife, and to the other members of his family."

John L. Hines, Director of the U. S. Veterans' Bureau.—"The veterans of the World War and the Veterans' Bureau have lost a very staunch friend in President Harding. No one can appreciate as I his interest in the veterans and his great desire to make sure that every possible assistance is given them."

James A. MacFarland, National Commander of the Disabled American Veterans (to Mrs. Harding).—"The Disabled Veterans offer their deepest sympathy in your hour of stunning bereavement. Gracious, humane, tried and true, President Harding was the real friend of the tens of thousands scarred in national defense, each of whom feels a personal loss in his passing."

Governor George E. Silzer, of New Jersey.—"Mr. Harding's death is probably more of a shock than has been the death of any other President in office because of the whole country's personal love for the man."

Maj.-Gen. Robert Lee Bullard, U. S. A.—"He was a great commander-in-chief and the Army's best friend."

Governor C. A. Templeton, of Connecticut.—"Our State loved President Harding as Connecticut's own son."

U. S. Senator A. B. Cummins, Iowa.—"My one thought at this moment is that I have lost one of the best and dearest friends I ever had. He gave to his country a pure, exalted mind, a devoted heart, and finally his life."

U. S. Senator Frederick Hale, Maine.—"The death of President Harding is a severe blow to me, as I believe it is to the country in general. His kindly, human, lovable nature has made a deep impression on the American people, and now that he is gone even his political enemies will admire his great service to his country."

U. S. Senator John B. Kendrick, Wyoming.—"The death of President Harding is a national calamity, a tragic thing; the whole country will be broken with grief. I am grieved and shocked beyond expression. Every one in Washington admired and loved the President. His death is a terrible loss to the country."

U. S. Senator Arthur Capper, Kansas.—"The nation has lost a Christian gentleman and a noble leader."

U. S. Senator Royal S. Copeland, New York (to Mrs. Harding).—"Regardless of political affiliations your husband was the most popular man in public life in America. His death comes as a personal loss to each of us. Mrs. Copeland and I extend to you our deepest sympathy, and we pray that God may sustain you in your hour of trial."

John T. Adams, Chairman Republican National Committee.—"President Harding's death is a keen loss to us who knew him most intimately. He was by nature patient and kindly. He made friends and held them by his lovable characteristics.

"He exhibited the same qualities in his official life. No one could have been more unselfish in his devotion to the welfare of his countrymen.

"His two years' administration covered a most trying period in national and world history, and the conduct of his high office was such that he will be enrolled as one of the greatest as well as most beloved of our Presidents."

Hon. Atlee Pomerene, Former U. S. Senator from Ohio.—"The nation's loss is great indeed. He was a great American,

who loved his country and everything for which it stood. He and I served together in the Senate for six years, and two men of opposite political faith from the same state were never better friends. The loss to me personally is very great."

Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University.—"I fear it may be truly said that President Harding sacrificed his life in trying his best to fulfill the duties of his great office. He had a lofty conception of his office and its relation to his fellow-countrymen. He had no thought but their welfare. His whole purpose was to serve the American people, and he sacrificed his life in endeavoring to do this to the full extent of his ability."

Charles M. Schwab, Chairman of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation.—"The President's unexpected death is a great shock to this country. He was a typical American, with his country's welfare ever his first thought. Fate has placed it within my good fortune to know many of the world's great men, but of them all, the one who made the deepest impression upon me was he who has just passed from us. President Harding was not a great military leader, not super-educated. He was a sincere, honest, patriotic gentleman, whose chief duty was service to his fellow-men."

Will H. Hays, Former Chairman Republican National Committee.—"President Harding gave his life to his country. The sacrifice of this great man should not have been. He is another victim of the cruel system surrounding and controlling the office of the Chief Executive, the system which condemns to early death or invalidism those men most honored by the country."

Judge James W. Willett, Des Moines, Iowa, Commander-in-Chief, Grand Army of the Republic.—"In the death of President Harding we are forcefully reminded of the slender thread of life, even for the strongest of men. A splendid specimen of American manhood, thoroughly equipped physically and mentally for the arduous duties of his exalted position as Chief Executive of

the Republic, is called suddenly to his death. This occurs at the crucial time of his career and we are deprived of our great leader in the affairs of government."

Hon. Joseph G. Cannon, Former Speaker of the House of Representatives.—"President Harding was very dear to me, for we had been close friends for many years, and I feel a deep personal loss in his death. He was the most lovable man I ever knew. The country has lost a great man, and at a time when his usefulness is most needed."

Hon. Albert B. Fall, Former Secretary of the Interior.—"The secret of President Harding's greatness lay largely in his true humanity, his kindly nature, and his earnest desire to use his life for the benefit of his fellow-citizens."

Hon. Newton D. Baker, Former Secretary of War.—"The entire nation will be shocked and grieved at the sudden death of this courteous gentleman. We lose our first citizen officially and a man whose personality has made a warm appeal to the hearts of his people."

Governor Len Small, of Illinois.—"News of the President's sudden death was a great shock to the people of Illinois, and has cast a shadow of gloom and sorrow over the entire commonwealth. The deepest sorrow and sympathy with Mrs. Harding and other members of the President's family is shared by all of our people."

Hon. William M. Calder, Former U. S. Senator from New York.—"The death of President Harding comes as a severe and distinct shock to me. I was intimately associated with him in the Senate, and we were warm, personal friends. He was an intense American. He was devoted always to the interests of his country. He was the sort of a President that the fathers in planning the Republic intended we should have. In these trying days, we shall miss his wise and conservative leadership. My heart goes out to his beloved wife."

Governor Alfred E. Smith, New York (by proclamation).—“The nation, with deep feeling of sorrow, learns of the loss of its President, Warren Gamaliel Harding. He gave to the great office all his strength, and energy, and his love of and devotion to his wife, as well as his sense of satisfaction and the just pride of his father in a son’s achievements, will always remain a noble lesson and example for the present as well as for generations to come.

“Almighty God is all-wise and all-just. He has showered His blessings upon this country without reserve, and the American people, grieved at heart, bow before Him to say ‘Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.’”

John F. Hylan, Mayor of New York.—“The news of President Harding’s death was a terrible shock. The heartfelt sympathy of New York City and the nation goes out to Mrs. Harding who proved herself a tower of strength to the President during his illness. I had the pleasure of meeting him on several occasions and was always impressed with his humanness and great heart. His death is a monumental loss to the nation.”

William E. Dever, Mayor of Chicago.—“I am shocked at news of death of President Harding, and have sent telegrams expressing deep sympathy of the people of Chicago, and declaring that by his patriotism, courage and kindliness the late President has endeared himself to all America.”

John H. Bartlett, First Assistant Postmaster-General.—“The supreme lesson of this tragic death is that the American people must make some effort to prevent future wars. This was the most serious burden on the mind of the President when he breathed his last. He did not do things to create headlines, and often did not deem it wise to strike back when he was hit. Patiently he went along as he had the light to go, taking the chances that ultimately he would be understood.

“In his death he is understood, and history will show that his

motives were right, and out of his life the Government will be made stronger and the people more just."

U. S. Senator Francis E. Warren, of Wyoming.—"It is the worst blow that the country could suffer at this time. Personally, I am deeply grieved and feel the loss of our dear President greatly."

Admiral Hilary P. Jones, U. S. N.—"It was a great shock and a great grief to all the officers and men of the fleet to learn of his sudden demise. It is a great shock to the life of the nation. We feel we have lost a dear friend in the passing of Mr. Harding, one who had at heart the interest of the Navy as a strong arm of the Government."

Ben W. Hooper, Chairman United States Railroad Labor Board.—"President Harding was great in simplicity, quiet dignity, and common sense. Those who attributed his cautious and conservative methods to a lack of courage were grievously mistaken."

Edwin A. Olson, U. S. District Attorney, Chicago.—"The shock is so terrible that words fail. When history shall write the short record of two years and five months of President Harding's administration, this great and kindly soul will be recognized as one of the most constructive, conscientious, hard-working, and human executives the country ever had."

Governor Alex J. Groesbeck, of Michigan.—"When Mr. Harding became President he took over a man-sized job. He was intensely American and his country's welfare was his first thought. Personally he was a most lovable character, patient, kind, and manly. In history he will rank as one of our great Presidents."

Clearing House Committee, New York.—"The financial institutions of New York City, as represented by the New York Clearing House, wish to express to Mrs. Harding deep and sincere sympathy. The nation mourns the death of its President, who by

his character and quality of human sympathy had won for himself an intimate place in the lives of the people. His death, coming as the result of unceasing devotion to the great duty to which with modesty and solemn devotion he had given himself, leaves the country another heritage which will help it to carry on the fine spirit of American manhood on which the future must rest."

Judson F. Stone, President Chicago Association of Commerce.—"President Harding was a man of great sympathy and understanding, who had secured a strong grip on the confidence and affections of all classes of our people. His death will show clearly how much beloved he was."

Mrs. Joseph Long, Chicago.—"He was a man's man, but I believe that the women of America believed in him more firmly than in any President in recent years. They had a feeling of confidence in his steadfastness. He was gentle but safe. Personally I am stunned by the news of his death. I was a great admirer of his. His death at this time is a tragic thing for the country; but our great nation is bigger even than a grief as crushing as this. My heart is with his widow."

Miss Mary McDowell, Commissioner of Public Welfare, Chicago.—"A gentleman has gone. He was taken at zenith of his success. But we have for comfort an unsullied record of a great American's devotion to his country. He died in an effort to get close to his people. May he rest in peace!"

Dun's Review.—"A nation mourns the death of a beloved President. President Harding's happy, loving nature, marked simplicity, earnestness and dignity, make his death a personal loss to each one of the American people."

James O'Donnell Bennett.—"He was, perhaps, the most genuinely simple soul who ever rose to the highest office in the gift of the premier republic of the world."

Wall Street Journal.—"Beside the coffin of Warren Gamaliel Harding our democracy silently bends to a Power greater than itself. Our President has joined the widest of all democracies, for rulers are alike in that last dread regard.

'Sceptre and crown must tumble down,
'And in the dust be equal made
'With the poor crooked scythe and spade.'

"That singer of three centuries ago pointed the consolation, the hope, the legacy for bereaved mortality:

'Only the actions of the just
'Smell sweet and blossom in the dust.'

"This is no moment for a critical review of President Harding's tenure of office or the honorable career which brought him to the highest preferment in a great people's gift. The querulous voice of criticism is stilled. The most blatant demagogue is silent before an elemental fact which even he dare not profess to cure. Greatness in Presidents can be measured only by the perspective of time, but goodness is a quality we can all appreciate, for it is within the reach of any of us.

"The nation mourns the death of one of its best citizens, using the description in that old-fashioned sense which would appeal to one so modest and single-hearted as he. When he was nominated for the Presidency every man who knew his esteemed and trusted him. He was helped to carrying the grinding, remorseless burden of his office when every man with whom he came in contact felt his moral worth. He has left an example of character, sympathy and devotion more valuable than spectacular achievement, because every citizen can attain it."

TRIBUTES FROM ABROAD

King George V of England (to Mrs. Harding).—"The Queen and I were much shocked to hear of the irreparable loss which has befallen you and assure you of our heartfelt sympathy in

your sorrow. The whole British people join those of the sister nation who mourn the death of their President at the culminating point of his distinguished career."

Queen Mother Alexandra (to Mrs. Harding).—"I offer you my heartfelt sympathy in the great sorrow which has befallen you and that of the American people in the loss of their beloved and distinguished President."

David Lloyd George, former Premier of England.—"News of President Harding's death comes as a shock to this country. His death is regarded by everyone as a great loss, for his genial, simple straightforwardness, won for him the genuine respect and liking of this country."

W. L. Mackenzie King, Premier of Canada (to Mrs. Harding).—"My colleagues in the government join with me in expressing deepest sympathy with you in your great bereavement. Your grief is shared not alone by the people of the United States, but in very real measure by the people of Canada. We recall with deep feeling the words of good will spoken but a few days ago by Mr. Harding on the occasion of the visit of the President and yourself to our country. In like spirit and sincerity we express to the people of the United States, in the loss they have sustained, the profound sympathy of the people of Canada."

"In the feeling of international friendship between the Republic and ourselves, never stronger than they are today, we trust there may be something of consolation to you and to our neighbors in this hour of sorrow which we all share."

W. S. Fielding, Acting Premier of Canada.—"On account of his recent visit to Canada, President Harding was a little closer than usual to the people of Canada. When the first news of his serious illness came there was general sorrow here and this was followed by relief when word came that he was gaining ground. His sudden death now comes as a great shock and the

sympathy of the Canadian people goes out in full measure to the American people in their loss."

President Alexandre Millerand, of France.—"I received the news of the unexpected death of President Harding with deep emotion. The eminent qualities that marked him for the choice of his fellow-citizens, and his sentiments of cordial sympathy for our country, shown in so many circumstances, were highly appreciated here. France, united with her great sister republic of the United States, in sadness as in joy, joins with a full heart in the sorrow that has come to it."

Raymond Poincaré, Premier of France.—"All France bows in deepest sympathy before the bereavement of the United States.

"Only recently the press of the world recorded the noble words of President Harding, a magnificent legacy in which he recommended to his fellow citizens that the United States should participate in the permanent Court of International Justice whose essential characteristics he outlined in admirable language.

"Is not this last act of a man about to give up his supreme power to enter the silence of eternity the most beautiful counsel of a chief of state to the country he governed and to the great people who had given him his mandate?

"With President Harding there disappears not only a grand figure, eminently qualified to head the nation to which we are bound by so many ties, but also the generous and enlightened friend that all Frenchmen have learned to like and respect."

Marshal Foch.—"My whole staff joins me in condolences on such a sad day, in which the French and American peoples are closely united, as in the days of the war."

Albert Sarraut, French Minister of the Colonies.—"Because of my close relations with President Harding at the Washington

Arms Conference, it was all the more painful to learn of the death of a great friend of France, who did his utmost for lasting peace."

President Ebert, of Germany.—"I deeply deplore that President Harding was called from the world's political stage at the very moment when grave complex problems dealing with the world's economic reconstruction and reconciliation of nations and peoples are awaiting urgent solution."

Dr. A. Frank, Vice-Chancellor of Austria.—"I stand appalled at the sad news. Our people can only remember President Harding with gratitude, for we ascribe to his sympathy and influence the benefits we have just received in the form of American credits and returning confidence in our country. We feel that tragic fate has robbed us of a warm friend."

Cardinal Mercier, of Belgium.—"Please convey to the American citizens my deep feeling of affliction and express my great sympathy. May God grant that his successor will be worthy of the beloved President now gone."

President Obregon of Mexico.—"President Harding's death is a sad event not only for the United States but for Mexico. Mr. Harding's personality makes the loss difficult to fill. I do not believe that international policies will be changed, because it is not a question of persons but of principles. For Mexico, President Harding's death is a sad loss."

Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, Cuban Secretary of State.—"Interpreting the sentiments of the President, the Government, and the people of Cuba, I desire to express the profound sympathy of this sister republic to the great American public in the hour of their trial and grief at their untimely loss in the death of President Harding."

Hon. J. D. McLean, Minister of Education, Birtish Columbia. —“The people of British Columbia learn with deepest sorrow of the death of President Harding. In his visit to our province but a few days ago his courtesy and kindliness endeared him to all. His noble words on international friendship and his expression of hope for an enduring peace made a lasting impression on the minds of our people. This province extends its deepest sympathy to the President’s family and the citizens of the United States.”

Similar expressions of esteem and respect for President Harding and of sorrow at his untimely death came from leading men of many other nations, including Switzerland, Holland, Italy, the Irish Free State, Ulster, Egypt, Denmark, Australia, and New Zealand. Pope Pius XI said he grieved deeply for America in the loss of one of her “best sons,” and instructed Cardinal Gasparri, the Papal Secretary of State, to convey to the American people his heartfelt sympathy and condolences. The death of President Harding was rightly regarded as a loss to the world.

CHAPTER III.

BIRTH AND BOYHOOD

**Born in an Ohio Hamlet—A Scion of Hardy Pioneer Stock—
Son of a Country Doctor and Farmer—His Mother—
Schooling at Caledonia—A Strong and Cheerful Boy—
First Money-Making Venture—At Ohio Central College
Working His Way Through—Editor of College News-
paper—Graduation in 1882.**

Warren G. Harding, 29th President of the United States, came of hardy pioneer stock. He was born on November 2, 1865, on a farm in the Ohio hamlet of Corsica, later called Blooming Grove, which a great-granduncle of his founded in the third decade of the nineteenth century. It is some five-and-twenty miles as the crow flies northeast of Marion, Ohio. Thirty-five miles to the south is the town of Delaware, where President Rutherford B. Hayes was born. Corsica remains a hamlet, possessing not one aspect of distinction, and not one shade of difference from scores of other hamlets in that mid-Ohio region. Sixty years ago it was, and it still is, a typical homefolks area of our country. It is inhabited by thrifty farmers and comprises routine patches of cornfields, pasture land, fairly thriving orchards, swales where the cattails bend leisurely before the hot wind of "good weather for the corn," capacious barns; trim, tasteless farm houses, and long yellow ribbons of roads that range from perfect to pretty bad, when judged by the standards of the modern motorist.

Many of the successful farming families of the region have long been resident there. Everybody knows, and knows about,

everybody else, and about his "folks" for generations back. Cousinships are innumerable, and during the summer days of the Presidential campaign of 1920, which resulted in Mr. Harding's election, a ride through Marion and Morrow counties—Corsica is now in Morrow county, though part of another county in the old days—was occasionally enlivened by the smiling, self-conscious assurance from some young farmer's wife that "We're all real proud of Cousin Warren."

From these unassuming people the late President never grew aloof and to them he expected to return. Only a few weeks before the Alaskan trip which brought on the first serious illness of his life, he bought the farm where he was born. The house in which he was born had vanished long before, although in some of the campaign booklets of 1920 there appeared what purported to be a picture of it; but it was a picture of a house about half a mile down the road. The site of the true birth house is now a wheat field; no traces of foundations remain.

The structure was an unassuming one containing only two or three rooms. It was built with his own hands by the President's father, Dr. George Tyron Harding, then a young physician who supplemented his small practice with farming. It stood a few rods from the commodious farmhouse, now in ruins, which Warren's great-grandfather had built, and it fronted close on the Lexington-Mansfield road on the outskirts of Corsica, or Blooming Grove, as Corsica is now called as a result of some postal decision or other of many years ago. But in the biographical data, which Mr. Harding himself prepared for "Who's Who," and similar publications when he became a notable personage, he always wrote his birthplace "Corsica."

On his father's side Warren Harding was a descendant of Scots who first settled in Connecticut in Colonial times, then moved to the Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania. Amos Harding, his great-grandfather, traveled westward from Pennsylvania in

an oxcart to seek a home for his family in Ohio, in 1820, after the Indian massacres in the Wyoming valley. In the early days his ancestors had to fight for their homes and lives against the Indians, and contributed patriot soldiers to the Revolutionary army. On his mother's side he came of Dutch stock, including the well known Van Kirk family. His mother before her marriage to Dr. Harding was Miss Phoebe Elizabeth Dickerson, kin to the Dickerson or Dickinson family, which has greatly figured in the history of New York and New Jersey. She died in 1910.

This blend of ancestry provided the youth who was destined to hold the highest office in the United States with the hardy qualities of the Dutch and the undaunted, fearless spirit of the Scots.

The Hardings and the Dickersons lived on neighboring farms and George Tyron Harding and Phoebe Dickerson were schoolmates and sweethearts in the days just before the Civil War. Their devotion met with parental objection because of their youth, but the lad was old enough to enter the Union Army and when he returned after his period of service and had built his little house on his father's farm, they were married, although the husband was not 20 years old. Warren Harding was the first of their eight children.

Tyron Harding, as he then was known, studied medicine while he was helping on his father's farm and began to practice in a country noted for the rugged health of its inhabitants. His family grew more rapidly than his income and he removed to and from various locations in Morrow and the adjoining county of Marion, tilling the soil as well as ministering to his neighbors' ailments. Success as a physician came to him gradually as his sons and daughters grew up.

Warren Harding learned his first lessons at his mother's knee. He attended school when he could, but even as a boy he found

it to be necessary to work at chores around home and such jobs as he could obtain which enabled him to add to the family's income.

His first schooling was received in the "little red schoolhouse" of the village of Caledonia, a few miles from Corsica. This schoolhouse, where Warren "spoke his first piece," is still standing. His maternal grandfather, Dickerson, built it in 1860 and when the President's father took a visitor to the structure in the summer of 1920, his tribute to the builder was, "He was a good brick mason."

He added, "I was teacher here more than fifty years ago and here Warren made his first public appearance on the platform. It was to take part in the rhetorical exercises of closing day and his contribution was a recitation concerning which I can only remember that it contained the line, 'He had a bonny horse'."

The Union was just recovering from internecine strike when Warren Harding was born, and his early boyhood was spent in the post-war days of that great conflict. The country around his grandfather's tract was mostly wooded and young Warren joined the youths of the community in their games, quarrels and friendships. He grew up strong of body and sunny of disposition.

His family, about as well-to-do but no better off than their neighbors, was well known in the section and Warren learned to fell trees, chop wood, split rails, plant corn, and all the other accomplishments of a farmer's boy of that period. In the winter he had chores to do before and after school. By this training the boy received an early schooling in industry and thrift which proved of great value to him as he became older and finally struck out for himself.

Young Harding never was known to grumble against his lot. He was a cheerful boy and popular among his associates. At Caledonia, where he acquired the rudiments of an education, he

also played a horn in the Caledonia Cornet Band and took an active part in the rustic social life of the village.

The future President's first money-making venture came when he was a boy of 14. His father turned over half an acre of land to him to cultivate, and gave him the seed to plant it to wheat. His crop was eighteen bushels and he took it to the warehouse at the nearby village of Climax and received \$18 for it. "He was," said his father, recounting every loving detail of the transaction, "happy as a big sunflower."

Warren also had a knack with his hands and could pick up almost any kind of odd job and do it creditably. To these days he always looked back with pride and affection, and amid the anxieties and excitements of the campaign of 1920 he recalled, and wished to have record made of the fact, that as a boy he learned house painting and could do what he described as "a bully job of graining."

Moved by a desire to see his own essays in print and to become further acquainted with the mysteries of the village printshop, the boy began to learn to set type in the office of the Caledonia Argus, working first as "printer's devil," or errand boy, messenger, and office boy. There was no thought then, apparently, of making the printing trade a source of livelihood, but the early experiments on the Argus were to have a deep influence on Warren Harding's later life. As a player in the village band he enjoyed, free of charge, his first trip to Chicago—the city of his later triumph. The band was taken to Chicago at the opening of the Erie Railroad.

The Toledo & Ohio Central Railroad was being built about a mile east of the Harding place and, when Warren had "caught up" on his farm work, he hired out with a team for \$4 a day, which was a heap of money in those days. So young Harding helped build the railroad, driving a dirt wagon or a scraper. Of

those days his father, Dr. Harding, is wont to say "Warren was always willing to work hard if there was any money in it."

Young Harding was also active in the sports of the boys of the town, among whom he became a leader. Thus passed the first fourteen years of his life.

In 1879, when 14 years old, he went to college, the pretentious designation of a Baptist academy at Iberia, Ohio, long since lost from the official roster of Ohio's educational institutions. For a time, however, the old Ohio Central College enjoyed a creditable standing, offering beneficent opportunities to such students as Warren Harding, who had "to work his way through." Iberia was only a few miles from his home. The college building was destroyed by fire in 1885 and was not rebuilt.

At intervals young Harding was obliged to quit his classes to earn money to continue at college, and all his vacations were devoted to earning money. He cut corn, painted barns and fences, drove teams and taught a district school. Most of his expenses at college were paid with the earnings of his own physical toil.

The college at Iberia fostered in Harding's day an active literary society and in the forum of this organization the young man learned to speak convincingly to his fellow-students.

For six months he and a classmate edited a newspaper for the college student world with considerable success financially, an accomplishment extraordinary in those days.

During this period he played an alto horn in the Iberia brass band, but this was for recreation rather than for pay.

More important in its influence on his later career, he learned to set type and acquired further contact with newspaper work. While President, Mr. Harding still carried as a luck piece the printer's rule which he used when "sticking type." As editor of his college paper he showed an aptitude and a liking for journalism. After his election to the Presidency he declared that

this editorship was the real turning point and determining factor in his career.

Between terms he visited his home and returned to school for the next term equipped with provisions which he carried in a sack flung over his shoulder. Though not a profound scholar he was a quick one, and his studies did not prevent his participation in college pranks. He was graduated in 1882 with the degree of Bachelor of Science.

CHAPTER IV.

A SUCCESSFUL EDITOR

Teaching School at Thirty Dollars a Month—Studying Law
—Selling Insurance—Removal to Marion—The Lure of
Printer's Ink—On the Marion Mirror—Purchase of the
Marion Star—Early Difficulties—His Wife's Assistance
—Final Success—Reputation As an Editor and Publisher.

Like so many others who have succeeded in politics, young Harding first took up teaching after he left college, and for some time taught the village school at Caledonia, Ohio, his remuneration being \$30 a month. In the meantime his father, Dr. Harding, had moved his family from the farm to Caledonia. Warren played in the town band and at times worked in the town printing office, there receiving further training in the mechanical side of newspaper making. Eventually he became an expert printer and practical pressman as well as reporter, editor, and publisher.

After six months of teaching school, Warren took his father's advice and began to study law. He was even then a lively young man, fond of a little game of poker, and one of the young men about town. He ran short, and had to borrow from his father. Not liking the idea of this he gave up Blackstone and tried his hand at insurance. But his first deal was a fraction too generous to his customer and he had to hand back a premium on which his share would have been \$100.

When Warren was 19 years of age, Dr. Harding again moved his family, this time from Caledonia to Marion, in the adjoining

county, then a place of about 4,000 population. There Warren got a job in the office of a small weekly, The Marion Mirror. From the moment he went to Marion he determined to be a newspaper man.

While with the Mirror he did all the odd jobs that fell to the lot of the apprentice in the old-time country newspaper office, from sweeping out the office and setting type to writing editorials and soliciting advertisements and subscriptions.

The Marion Mirror was a Democratic paper and the majority of the voters in Marion at that time was Democrats. Doctor Harding was a Republican and Warren, then just becoming greatly interested in public affairs, was also a Republican, and one of the uncompromising variety. The situation in the Mirror office became somewhat embarrassing, for the youthful Harding not only joined the local James G. Blaine Club which the Republicans had formed for the Presidential campaign, but insisted upon wearing a black, shiny Blaine high hat to work.

It has often been said that Harding was discharged from the Mirror for this, but that was not true. He was too valuable to his employer. He not only knew the mechanics of the printer's trade, but had a pleasant way of writing about births, weddings, and other local happenings that made friends for the paper. The best proof of the error of the story that he was discharged by the owner of the Mirror for his Republicanism is that this same owner, the future President's first "boss" in the newspaper business, helped him realize his ambition to become a newspaper owner.

There was a little daily newspaper in Marion, called the Star, which had been started by a former peanut vender, who had failed to make it successful. This paper was about to be sold for debts by the sheriff and Harding's employer, the owner of the Mirror, advised the owner of the Independent, another local paper, to buy the Star and scrap it lest it might later compete

actively with the Independent. This the owner of the Independent refused to do. Nettled by the rejection of his advice, the owner of the Mirror called in Harding and told him to go over to the court house and buy the Star.

"I've nothing to buy it with," said Harding.

"You go over and do what I tell you, and it will work out all right," Harding was told.

On the following day, November 26, 1884, this announcement appeared in the Star:

"We have purchased the Star and will stay."

"The Star Publishing Co."

The company consisted of Warren Harding and his equally youthful friend, Jack Warwick.

Thus began Harding's career as a publisher. For several years he worked every available hour to put the Star on its feet. First, the property had to be paid for. Harding ransacked Marion and vicinity for news and advertisements. When his writing and his business managing were done, he helped his partner set the type, make up the paper, run the press, and get the carrier boys out. After the issue was out, the partners then turned to and distributed the type, for they had barely enough of it for one day's paper, and had to have it ready for the next day.

Harding's early years with the Star were full of difficulties. He sold insurance "on the side" and resorted to all sorts of expedients to meet the Saturday payroll. During this time came his break with his partner, Warwick. In the midst of his troubles, Harding decided that the paper must have a telephone. His partner balked at this and Harding bought him out and put him on the payroll as an employee, thus taking on himself all the responsibility.

Harding could not modernize the ramshackle equipment of the paper for several years because of lack of money. To add to

his difficulties the editor of the Independent, the competing daily, attacked him so bitterly that Harding once threatened to "mop up the street" with him if his opponent did not stop "lying." The provocation must have been severe, for Harding's method before and after was always to win his way by conciliation.

The Star was purchased under a heavy mortgage, and Mr. Harding's friends have often said that the struggles and hardships which he endured in making this paper a success had much to do in fashioning his character and developing a broad patience and tolerance which were his chief characteristics.

With his ability, energy and courtesy, Mr. Harding finally won the good will of the people of Marion for the Star. He devoted himself to booming the town and made friends among the business men. They turned advertising his way, and at last, aided greatly by Mrs. Harding, who worked with her husband in his office, the Star "arrived" and its editor became a power in the community.

HIS NEWSPAPER CREED

As in Mr. Harding the country later had its first newspaperman President, it is of particular interest to recall the creed which he prepared for the guidance of those who worked on the Marion Star. This creed read:

"Remember there are two sides to every question. Get them both.

"Be truthful. Get the facts.

"Mistakes are inevitable, but strive for accuracy. I would rather have one story exactly right than a hundred half wrong.

"Be discreet, be fair, be generous.

"Boost—don't knock.

"There is good in everybody. Bring out the good in everybody and never needlessly hurt the feelings of anybody.

"In reporting a political meeting give the facts, tell the story as it is, not as you would like to have it. Treat all parties alike.

"If there is any politics to be played we will play it in our editorial columns.

"Treat all religious matters reverently.

"If it can possibly be avoided never bring ignominy to an innocent man or child in telling of the misdeeds or misfortunes of a relative.

"Don't wait to be asked, but do it without the asking, and above all be clean and never let a dirty word or suggestive story get into type.

"I want this paper so conducted that it can go into any home without destroying the innocence of any child."

Many of those who knew Warren G. Harding intimately say that the man he was is best indicated in this creed.

SYMPATHETIC AS AN EDITOR

As an editor Mr. Harding was not audacious, but he was safe, kindly, and constructive.

To wound anybody by a report in the paper of a townsman's misdeeds was to wound himself, and there was not a week in the six-and-thirty years during which he was the active head of the Marion Star that he did not suppress some item which to a publisher of less gentle spirit would have been a choice bit for his columns. He liked to tell stories of such incidents—recounting with gusto how some poor sinner had appealed to him to hold out the item that told the story of a disorderly act or of a petty defalcation because "If the old mother saw it it would break her heart."

The mother appeal was never made in vain to Warren Harding. One of his favorite stories dealt with a case in which at the appeal of a ne'er-do-well of Marion he had suppressed an item concerning disorderly conduct on a train. That story the President last told at a banquet of the Gridiron Club in Washington in the spring of 1923, and with a beaming smile he wound it up with these words: "As a result of my action, which involved no sacrifice on my part, that man began to gain a little self-respect, stopped drinking, went earnestly to work, and today he is one of the most substantial citizens of Marion."

Mrs. Harding's father was Amos Kling, a leading business man of Marion. He strongly opposed her marriage to Harding, which took place in 1891. The Star had not yet become the success it was later and Kling underestimated its proprietor.

In her work for the Star, Mrs. Harding did no writing, but took up the management of the circulation and the newsboys. She literally saved the pennies, taking the coin home with her until the collection was large enough to be banked.

Warwick in a sketch of his former partner, said:

"I have seen W. G. marching down to the bank with a gallon of pennies in either hand. I was always curious to find out how many pennies made a gallon, but never found out."

There never was a strike in the office of the Star. The employees always called Mr. Harding "W. G." and esteemed him as a comrade. When the paper became firmly established, he organized a stock company, in which the permanent employees held shares.

When President Harding relinquished his control of the Star, in June, 1923, it was a prosperous newspaper, with the largest circulation of any paper in a city of 30,000 in the Middle West. It had a full telegraphic service, the latest type of perfecting press,

eight linotype machines, and fifty employees. Largely through Mr. Harding's efforts, factories and railroad shops went to Marion during the years he ran the paper, converting the one-time farming town into an important manufacturing city.

It is said that for several years the publication of the Marion Star netted Mr. Harding a profit of \$35,000 a year, and that he received \$300,000 as the selling price of his newspaper property a few months before his death.

Whatever his other attainments, Mr. Harding's greatest pride was in his professional accomplishments and training as printer, editor, and publisher. Nor did the interests and exacting duties of his high office as President serve to dull his delight in pottering about a composing-room. On his first trip back home after his inauguration, he went to the Star office, pulled off his coat, rolled up his sleeves, borrowed a chew of tobacco, and helped "make up" the paper.

Now that he is gone, it is interesting to note, in connection with his newspaper career, that the last public address which President Harding delivered was to newspaper men, the members of the Seattle Press Club, on his return from Alaska late in July, 1923. It was largely extemporaneous and dealt with the need which the newspaper fills in the community.

"An honest and intelligent press affords a limitless opportunity for community service, and the loftiest employment in life," said President Harding. "It may preach to the larger congregation. It has every opportunity to commend and defend the law. It is the effective mouthpiece of our politics."

Although laboring under the strain of illness, the President reminiscently drew upon his early experience as editor of the Marion Star, which he said "I purchased for 300 bucks."

"While I do not claim to have been a marvel as a newspaper maker, I do rejoice in my lifetime affiliation and participation in the building of the fourth estate," he said. "After all, the first compensations in a life are the associations to which a man is entitled through the fruits of his endeavors. If he has done well and has been worthy, he will have the fellowship of his friends. I find a pride in nearly forty years of participation in newspaper making and a reflective survey persuades me that the great satisfaction has come out of a policy designed to boost and rarely to knock."

Turning to the sacrificial efforts made by editors of daily papers in small Alaskan communities, he said:

"I found myself involuntarily doffing my hat to the editor and publisher who succeeds in maintaining a daily issue in a town of from 800 to 1,200 people, where the circulation maximum cannot exceed thirty copies.

"The big asset in the successful Alaskan sheet is the home news, and when the final analysis of the making of a newspaper is written, here is the secret of newspaper success.

"Give me a newspaper which is a true reflex of the community it serves, and I know I am reading an index to dependable public opinion as well as a potent agent in molding that opinion."

President Harding was made a member of the Seattle Press Club and added: "I even more gladly accept the association which is conveyed by this honor."

At the office of the Marion Star, news of the President's death was received with sincere sorrow, for it was there that Mr. Harding spent the best years of his life in the profession he most loved. Most of the employees of the Star had been with him since early in his newspaper career.

The "boys," those who had worked with Mr. Harding at the type case, or helped him fashion editorials, or perhaps collect a bad account, for there wasn't an activity of the paper that he did not take part in, recounted as they sat with sorrowful faces, in true newspaper fashion, the milestones in the life of their beloved chief.

They told how he earned his first dollar; how he expressed his esteem and love for the associates who helped him make the Star; and made known many intimate things which showed the character of the late President. One of the men in the editorial department said:

"Destiny alone never reached out for Warren G. Harding. Destiny in his case had an ally in a woman—his wife. Mrs. Harding made her husband President. She blazed the way. She had faith in his future. She believed he had the making in him of a great man. She urged him on and on.

"It was not a mere handful of politicians who nominated him for the Presidency. It was not even the people who elected him that really made him President. These were mere bulletin-board events in a life that never became embittered.

"In the background of it all was a sweet domestic influence, the guiding star of Warren G. Harding's destiny. Mrs. Harding made him President. It was her counsel and her urge long years before the Chicago convention that made him Presidential timber."

George T. McCormick, who twenty years ago entered the Star organization as a reporter and today fills an editor's chair, said:

"The world may never come to a full and understanding appraisal of Mr. Harding as a man; only those who enjoyed the intimacy of his association for years can do that.

"Mr. Harding's greatest greatness lay in his humility. He was always humble in the sight of God. He was never boastful. He



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Above—School House at Corsica, Ohio, Where the Future President Learned the ABC: Now a Picturesque Vine-Covered Blacksmith Shop.
Below—The Old Ohio Central College at Iberia, Ohio, Which Warren Harding Attended, Working His Way Through.





Interior View of Trinity Baptist Church, Marion, Ohio, of Which President Harding Was a Trustee. Photo Copyright U. & U.

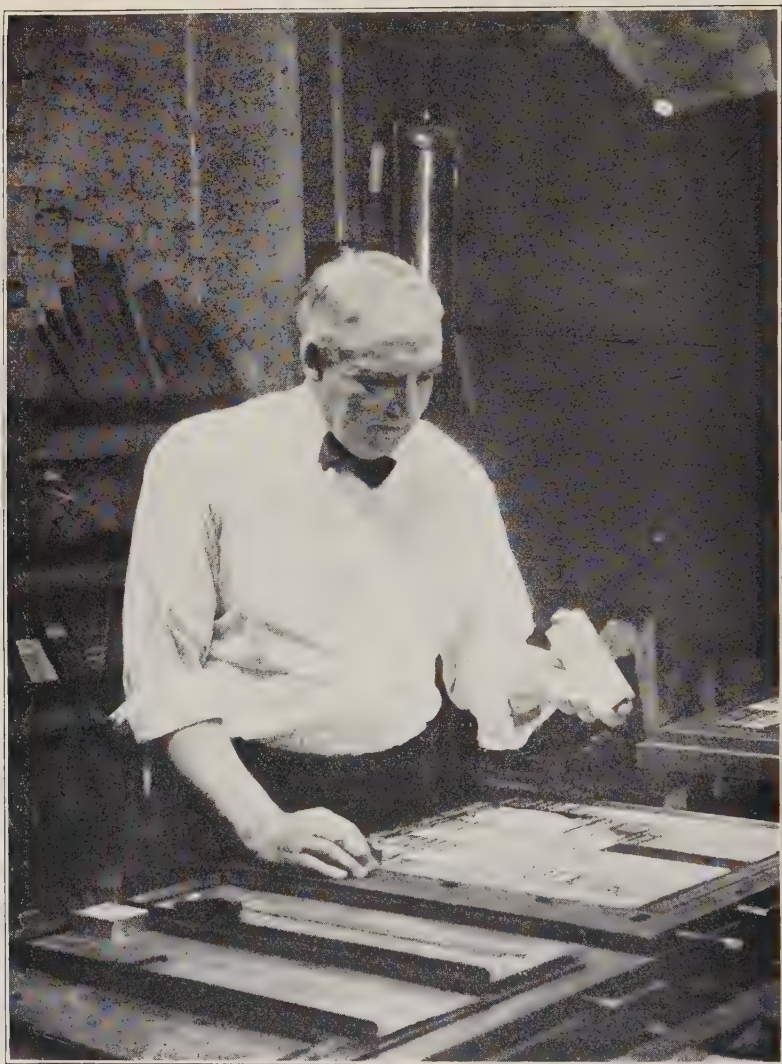


Photo Copyright U. & U.
President Harding "Making Up" His Newspaper, the Marion Star, on His First
Visit Home After Entering the White House.

was never servile. Despising pretense and flattery, he was sincere in every word and deed.

“Mr. Harding never condemned any one. He was a booster. Loyalty was an outstanding attribute with him. He never forgot a friend. He never failed to reward one. No matter what others said, he never knowingly turned down any one whose loyalty had won his friendship.

“A loyal American, whose soul trembled at times for the future of America he nevertheless maintained a steadfast faith in a patriotic people who would save America in any crisis.”

CHAPTER V.

IN OHIO STATE POLITICS

Early Interest in Public Affairs—Always an Ardent Republican—A Good Campaigner and Effective Speaker—Meeting With William McKinley—Elected State Senator—Lieutenant-Governor of Ohio—Nominated for Governor But Defeated by Judson Harmon—Nominated for United States Senator Against Foraker Against His Will—Elected to the Senate.

For six years after acquiring control of the Marion Star, Mr. Harding was too busy on his own account to seek public office, but it was inevitable that he should enter public life. From early manhood he had taken active part in politics, both as an editor and a speaker. He attended all the gatherings of his party and took the stump whenever his services were sought and it was possible for him to comply.

Nor were his public appearances always political. As his paper prospered he became an enthusiastic "booster" of his city and its enterprises. He attended and spoke at meetings, rallies, dinners and other gatherings that had no political significance, widening his field as his reputation as an orator grew.

Naturally the Star played a prominent part in the development of the town of Marion, and as it grew its editor and owner achieved prominence in many ways and influence in politics. Mr. Harding was always an ardent Republican. When his newspaper labors would permit he turned his attention to politics, becoming a member of the County Committee and faltering not at all in letting his voice be heard.

Marion county was Democratic—strongly so—but Harding wanted a complete Republican ticket put up on one occasion and talked the committee into following his plan. So they named him for Auditor and he was nominated.

Though his first venture into office-seeking was not successful, Harding made a good campaign. Nor did defeat alter in the slightest his determination to swing Marion County into the Republican party fold. He kept up his fight. He campaigned vigorously and well and developed really good oratorical ability. This power he constantly developed and throughout his career in politics was a forceful and effective speaker.

A young man of vigor with a growing newspaper and ability as an orator was an asset to any party. It was not long before young Harding was in demand for tours of the state with candidates. Thus it was he met William McKinley, of Canton, Ohio, whom he was later supposed to resemble, and thus it was too, he met Foraker, whom he was destined to succeed in the United States Senate. A friendship sprang up between him and McKinley, with whom he had much in common. He was also close to Theodore Roosevelt in later days.

Harding's editorials in the *Star*, his speaking ability and the commanding physique that outdoor work had developed, won for him a public reputation. Citizens said then that Harding, 24 years old, "looked like a Senator." Their opinions were turned into concrete expression at the polls in 1899, when the young man was elected to the State Senate from the 13th District, embracing Marion and four adjacent counties. The territory had voted Democratic almost continuously since 1844, but Harding was elected by a vote four times as large as that given the candidate of his own party for the same office two years previously. The result may in part have been due to political conditions and issues, but much of the victory was due to Harding himself, for his personality had won him many friends. Two years later he was re-

elected. He had by that time thoroughly entrenched himself in his political organization.

Warren Harding's public career was started. He continued to edit the *Star* and gained further public notice by his editorials on state questions. His policy of refusing to print anything in the paper that he considered unkind won popularity for him, which was further increased by his philosophy of "neighborliness," a doctrine which he carried with him later to the White House.

Harding's success as a legislator and his popularity resulted in his being nominated and elected Lieutenant Governor of Ohio in 1904 at the close of his second term as State Senator. Myron T. Herrick was elected Governor. Harding did not win the nomination for Lieutenant Governor without an effort on the part of his supporters. Mark Hanna had wanted an old soldier for the office. He ceased his opposition to Harding's candidacy when the sight of the State Senator's followers, parading a thousand strong with red carnations in their buttonholes, convinced him of Harding's power.

For two years Harding presided over the upper house of the State Legislature and added to his success as a parliamentarian. He distinguished himself for the skill with which he discharged his duties, facilitating much forward-looking legislation.

With this auspicious beginning it was predicted that Mr. Harding would continue to advance politically. Instead, he was caught in a cross-current of party factionalism and shelved temporarily, rather to his satisfaction, for public service can be rendered only at a sacrifice of individual interests, and the enterprises with which he was identified required his personal attention.

When Herrick was renominated Harding declined to run again, and turned his attention to his newspaper property exclusively for the time being, taking up, a little later, other business enterprises.

Only once had he passed a great deal of time away from Ma-

tion and that was because of an illness that necessitated a trip to the South. In this interval Mrs. Harding had conducted the *Star* in her customary most efficient manner.

As far as office-holding was concerned, Harding was out of politics for several years. He retained his interest and his associations, however, and became somewhat of a power within his organization, adding to his already long list of political friendships and building better than he perhaps knew his own political fortunes.

In 1910 his party nominated him for Governor of Ohio, against Judson Harmon, of Cincinnati, a conservative Democrat, who commanded the support of a united party.

The early outlook was bright for the Marion editor, but Mr. Harmon focalized upon the one weak spot in the Republican armor, concentrating such fire upon the issue of bossism, which he contended aspired to control the State, that independent voters sacrificed the Republican nominee to record their protest against that threatened domination. Harding was defeated by a plurality of over 100,000, despite that he made a hard and telling campaign.

This, his first political reverse, neither embittered nor discouraged the Marion editor. He apparently entertained no delusions as to the requirements for national distinction in the political world. Writing in the *Star* of his friend, Senator Joseph B. Foraker, Mr. Harding in 1907 said: "Few men of one generation reach nationwide distinction in the field of politics—or in any other field, for that matter. Unless a man becomes afloat in the Presidential current, he must really and truly be great in order to show in the national limelight."

Harding then did not know how surely he was "afloat in the Presidential current." For two years after his defeat for the Governorship, he continued to preach McKinley Republicanism through the *Star* and in public addresses. In 1912 he stepped definitely into the national limelight when he placed the name of

William Howard Taft before the Republican convention in Chicago. He had addressed the convention in 1908, but it was his nominating speech for Taft that brought him national recognition from party leaders.

In 1914 Mr. Harding again became a candidate for office and then fate made him the opponent in politics of one of the men he had valiantly supported years before, the veteran Senator Foraker. Harding made the fight against Foraker in the primary most reluctantly and only because he was advised to do so most insistently by men whom he trusted. He made a point of going to Foraker before he announced his candidacy for the United States Senate, and even after the battle the two men remained firm friends.

In the primaries, the first which Ohio had held for the Senatorial office, he defeated Foraker, and at the election he worsted the former Attorney-General of the state, Timothy Hogan, by a plurality of more than 100,000 votes. He had not sought the nomination; one of his friends in Marion had circulated the petition after other candidates had been long in the field.

CHAPTER VI.

RECORD AS A SENATOR

An Influential Legislator—Prominent in Debate—A Firm Partisan—Patriotic Attitude on all War Measures—Gaining in Popular Esteem—Support of Roosevelt for a War Command—Votes on Woman Suffrage, Railroad Problems, and the Prohibition Question—Member of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Warren G. Harding was elected United States Senator from Ohio on November 8, 1914, when Europe was at war, and the eyes of the Allies of the Entente were beginning to look toward America for aid in the great struggle against the Central Powers. He was still a "young Senator" when the United States entered the conflict.

It was no time for any effort on his part to impress his personality upon the attention of his colleagues or the country at large, even had he had the inclination, which was farthest from his intent or disposition.

Senator Harding fully realized this, and not until the conflict was ended and the matter of a ratification of the peace claimed the attention of the Senate did he assume an active part in Senatorial deliberations. As a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations he opposed ratification of the Versailles treaty and contributed his full share to his party's triumph upon that issue.

But Senator Harding, although new to Washington, brought with him the same genial and cordial personality, the same grace of movement and charm of manner that had made him so popular

in Ohio, mellowed and matured by age and experience. Alert, but calm and dignified, he recalled to elder statesmen and veteran news correspondents memories of the revered William McKinley, also an Ohioan. His name soon came to be mentioned as a possible and then as a probable Presidential nominee in 1920; but there were other aspirants more conspicuous and more aggressive.

Mr. Harding's Senate record was marked by the same conservative political policies which characterized his earlier life. He made three trips abroad while in the Senate. He voted for war legislation generally, for the arming of merchant ships, the espionage bill and the selective-draft law. In 1917 he drafted the proviso of the military bill which would have allowed President Wilson to authorize Theodore Roosevelt to raise two divisions of volunteers for service abroad. The proviso was defeated by the opposition of President Wilson.

He was, however, an earnest supporter of President Wilson's Administration in the prosecution of the war and later criticized it severely.

Just before we entered the war a Democratic Senator asked him what sort of plight he thought the country would be in if Roosevelt were President. "If Theodore Roosevelt had been President," replied Mr. Harding, "the Lusitania would never have been sunk and we should today be living under the guaranties of peace rather than trembling on the verge of war."

At the Republican National Convention of 1916, Senator Harding was chosen as temporary chairman and "keynote speaker," and in his opening address he forecast the issues upon which that campaign was fought. In connection with the World War and foreign affairs he discussed the widened relationships of the United States, declaring that if this government was to urge the world's attention to international justice and to become the agency of a progressive civilization it "must assume the responsibilities of

influence and example and accept the burdens of enlarged participation.

"The cloistered life is not possible to the potential man or the potential nation. Moreover, the Monroe Doctrine, stronger for a century's maintenance, fixes an obligation of New World sponsorship and Old World relationship. Our part must not be dictatorial; it must be trusted leadership in a fraternity of American republics."

In this speech, which was another contributing factor to his nomination for the Presidency, he advocated the "middle of the road" policy and won the Progressive and reactionary wings of the party. There was no split in the ranks, although World War issues confused the political currents.

During his later Senatorial career Mr. Harding was increasingly looked to as an exponent of Republican policy in both domestic and foreign affairs and as one of the authentic leaders of the party. This was true both in and out of the Senate chamber. In April, 1916, he made a noteworthy address at the Hamilton Club, Chicago, in criticism of President Wilson's Mexican policy, and in May, 1919, he was the chief speaker at the great America Day meeting in Carnegie Hall, New York, under the auspices of the American Defense Society in its campaign against Bolshevism. In the latter address he won vast applause by declaring that "we went to war not in defense of world democracy, but for the preservation of America's national rights."

At the end of the war Senator Harding was an advocate of prompt peace-making and some legitimate co-operation among the nations of the world which would lessen if not wholly avert the danger of further wars. But he was opposed to the adoption of the covenant of the League of Nations unless with effective reservations preserving American national sovereignty intact and maintaining the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. In urging the adoption of such reservations he declared that "plans for the

creation of a World Court for justiciable disputes appeal to all who think justice is sustained in reason rather than in armed disputes. The establishment of an agency for the revelation of the moral judgment of the world can never be amiss. These things might well have come out of the combined conscience of the nations awakened to new ideas amid the sufferings of war, and they will yet come."

To the very last Senator Harding hoped and expected that President Wilson would accept the Senate reservations and permit his followers to vote for ratification of the Treaty of Versailles. He took pains to assure himself that the reservations, despite the President's assertions to the contrary, would be accepted by the other signatory powers—a fact now known to all the world. His chief objection to the League covenant was based on the notorious Article X. Speaking of it in January, 1920, he said:

"Article X comes pretty near to being the whole thing in the present deadlock. As the President submitted it, it creates a super-state. The Republicans will not stand for that. In good conscience they adhere to the idea Congress should reserve to itself power to declare war. The covenant of the treaty of peace does leave a framework which within proper limitations may accomplish very much for the preservation of peace. It affords a foundation on which we may apply the League of Nations in erecting a structure which we began under the Taft Administration."

Senator Harding once characterized the League proposal of President Wilson as a "colossal blunder," and declared, perhaps with a prophetic sense, that he would "welcome the moment when we can go to the people of the United States on the issue" of the responsibility for the situation arising from the treaty negotiations. It was actually on this issue that Harding was afterward elected President.

While he had voted consistently for war measures and bills designed to give President Wilson and the Democratic administration almost unlimited power and discretion in war times, Senator Harding resented that these powers were not relinquished at the close of the war. He spoke feelingly of the need of governmental economy early in 1920, assailing the existing tax laws which he said shackled business.

"Take the restrictions off the American people and the shackles off business and then cut out the expense which, maintaining the restrictions and the Shackles, has cost the Government and the people," he said. "After that hold the spenders in check."

* * *

In entering the national field and moving to Washington, Mr. Harding had the same good fortune that later attended his entrance upon his duties as President. The general likeness to McKinley was commented upon widely and was to his advantage; his oratorical ability was known and he entered the Senate with a background that meant much.

His firm partisanship stood him in good stead, too, and so, in a comparatively brief time, he came prominently to the front as a Senator and a national figure in his party.

The entrance of the United States into the world war gave Harding an exceptional opportunity. Always a powerful speaker, he was one of the foremost Senators in debate on all war measures, and his attitude, in which he showed more positive leanings than he had previously displayed, won him popular esteem. He supported all war measures vigorously and the record of the Senate shows that he voted affirmatively on almost every important war measure. He stood consistently by the position he had taken earlier when he voted for the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany.

Among the measures for which he voted, besides the espionage law (on its final passage), and the selective service act, were the

food control act, the bill taking over the ships of alien enemies, the trading with the enemy act, and war risk insurance. As a Senator he is also on record as having voted twice for the woman suffrage amendment and he voted also for the prohibition amendment and the Volstead act, when the latter was presented for passage over the veto of President Wilson. In fact, his position on prohibition has been unmistakable and his utterances as President always were strongly in favor of the enforcement of the constitutional amendment.

Senator Harding also supported the Esch-Cummins railroad bill, thereby causing himself some embarrassment later when an effort was made in the Presidential campaign to stir up sentiment against him among laboring men because of his support of this bill. He also voted for the return of the railroads to the companies within one year after the close of the war and he opposed the much-talked-of Plumb plan for divided ownership of the railroads between capital and labor.

He was very active, too, as already noted, in getting through Congress the bill designed to allow Theodore Roosevelt to take a division abroad shortly after the United States entered the war. Colonel Roosevelt's desire to lead a division abroad was well known. Harding managed to have a bill passed which left the matter to the discretion of President Wilson. The latter, however, did not look with favor on the proposal.

As a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, of which Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts was chairman, Senator Harding was prominent in the heated debates at the close of the war over the peace negotiations in Paris. He stood squarely with Senator Lodge, fighting with all his power the League of Nations covenant favored by President Wilson.

As a potential candidate for the Presidency he loomed large in the eyes of his friends long before the Republican National Convention of 1920 assembled at Chicago. Personally he was in

a receptive mood. The Presidential bee can hardly be said to have been "buzzing in his bonnet," for Harding as a politician was always "in the hands of his friends," ready for any public service for which he might be drafted—but the vision of the White House was before him.

IMPATIENT OF WAR DELAYS

Once the country was at war, Senator Harding was impatient of all legislative delays in carrying out war policies. In an interview in the New York Times of August 12, 1917, he said that the United States was driving toward a war dictatorship and that he favored it. When he asked if this was not an un-American idea, he said:

"Whether it is or is not American, it will be made American once the condition is an established fact, but at the same time let me answer your question more fairly by a short glance at our history as I see it. While I am neither historian nor constitutional lawyer, it appears to me that the experience of the founder of our nationality, George Washington, had convinced himself that in times of national crises supreme power should be vested in one head and that all responsibility as well as all power should be vested there. In his matchless vision, Hamilton saw the necessity of such provision and his influence in the drafting of the Constitution, exerted through Washington, was such that every avenue was opened for casting to one man in a crisis all the power."

Coming down to a discussion of Civil War days, Senator Harding continued:

"During the early days and in fact during the first two years of the Civil War, the Congress in the North was rent with disagreement and dissension and it was only the logic of events combined with the perception generally of the unparalleled character of Mr. Lincoln that powers were placed more and more in the hands of the President, until toward the close of

the war Congress as well as the Cabinet had all but abdicated in favor of the one man who had proved himself to be a safe dictator for the destinies of the nation."

Once the war was over, Senator Harding, like the majority of his Republican colleagues in the Senate, aligned himself against the policies of President Wilson, although in not so extreme a manner as some of them. He was one of the thirty-seven Senators who signed the famous "round robin" notifying the world that they disapproved the way President Wilson was tying up the League of Nations with the Peace Treaty. He voted for, or was paired with Senator Underwood in favor of every one of the reservations to the League Covenant proposed by Senator Lodge.

"I think that as originally negotiated it is the colossal blunder of all time," Senator Harding said in a speech in the Senate referring to the Peace Treaty, "but, recognizing the aspirations of our own people and the people of the world to do something toward international co-operation for the promotion and preservation of peace and a better understanding between nations, I have wished to make it possible to accept this Covenant. I could, however, no more vote to ratify this treaty without reservations which make sure America's independence of action, which make sure the preservation of American tradition, which make sure and certain our freedom in choosing our course of action, than I could participate in a knowing betrayal of this Republic.

"I welcome the moment we can go to the people of the United States on the issue as to who is responsible therefor [referring to the treaty]. I speak as one who is old-fashioned enough to believe that the Government of the United States of America is good enough for me."

While Harding's speeches in the Senate were not regarded as brilliant they were free of political bunkum and were frank and sincere, winning him respect, and he continued to reveal his harmonizing political sagacity.

He supported the child labor law, the minimum wage law, the civil service retirement law, the rehabilitating of the industrial cripple law, the women's bureau of the Department of Labor, and much similar legislation to show his real friendship for labor. He never made political capital, however, out of his friendship for labor.

CHAPTER VII.

CAMPAIGN FOR PRESIDENT

Harding as a Candidate—Ohio's Favorite Son—Presidential Primaries—The Republican Convention of 1920—Deadlock Broken by Votes for Harding—Speech of Acceptance—A "Front Porch" Campaign at Marion, Ohio—Demand for Reconstruction and Reaction Against Wilson Policies Result in Triumphant Election of the Senator.

His prominence in the Senate naturally led to the consideration of Mr. Harding as a Presidential candidate. This movement steadily grew, until in November, 1919, he permitted a formal announcement to be made that he would let his name go before the public in 1920 as a candidate.

Before the national nominating conventions were held the usual presidential preference primaries took place in various States, but it may be said that they had little or nothing to do with the final choice of candidates. That was decided in the inner circles of the conventions after the popular candidates had failed to get enough votes from the uninstructed delegates to nominate them. The struggle was the warmest in the Republican party, in which the leading candidates were Gen. Leonard Wood, Gov. Frank O. Lowden of Illinois, and Senator Hiram W. Johnson of California, the last named being known as "irreconcilable" opponent of the League of Nations. In South Dakota Wood led with 31,024 votes to 26,992 for Lowden and 26,194 for Johnson. In New Jersey Wood was the favorite, getting 52,909 votes to 51,962 for Johnson. He also led in Indiana, where he received 85,708

votes to 39,627 for Lowden and 78,840 for Johnson. Illinois voted for Lowden first, Wood second and Johnson third. Michigan was for Johnson, Wood and Lowden in the order named. In North Dakota, Nebraska and Montana Johnson was the choice of most of the Republicans. California gave Johnson 370,905 votes to 210,561 for Herbert Hoover. Harding's plurality in Ohio demonstrated that he was the favorite son of his native state.

The Republican national convention of 1920 was held in the Coliseum, Chicago, beginning June 8 and ending June 12. Seven sessions were held—one on Tuesday, June 8, one on Wednesday, June 9, two on Thursday, June 10, one on Friday, June 11, and two on Saturday, June 12. Much time was consumed in agreeing upon a platform and presenting the names of the various candidates for the presidency. Then ten ballots had to be taken before a choice was made for the chief office. Only one ballot was required to nominate a candidate for the vice-presidency. The hall, which had been arranged to seat 12,000 persons, was filled at each session, with thousands unable to gain admittance.

Presidential preference primaries, test ballots, and general campaign work for delegates had brought a number of candidates prominently before the public. These, as already noted, included Maj.-Gen. Leonard Wood, widely known on account of his military record and his friendship with Theodore Roosevelt; Frank O. Lowden, governor of Illinois, noted for his administrative ability and his patriotic work during the world war, and Hiram Johnson, United States Senator from California, opponent of the League of Nations and generally looked upon as leader of the radical wing of the Republican party. These candidates were often referred to in the convention gossip as the "Big Three." Many others had been more or less prominently mentioned for the presidency, but were spoken of as "dark horses." The most prominent among them were Herbert C. Hoover, Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, William C. Sproul, and Nicholas M. Butler.

On the eve of the convention Hiram Johnson addressed a large assemblage in the Auditorium theater, Chicago, denying that he was a radical, attacking the profiteers and assailing the League of Nations. Many of the California Senator's audience belonged to the Thompson-Lundin faction in Chicago, who were seeking to force upon the convention a platform conforming to Mayor Thompson's general policy with regard to the war with Germany—a policy not looked upon with favor by many outside of Chicago.

The feature of the opening session of the convention on Tuesday, June 8, was the "keynote speech" of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, the temporary chairman. It consisted mainly of an arraignment of President Wilson's administration, which the speaker denounced as un-American and perilous to the Republic. He also criticized the Democratic policy with regard to Mexico, the high cost of living, the railroads, and especially the failure to end the technical state of war with Germany. Aside from the delivery of this speech the business of the session was of a routine nature. The second session, on Wednesday, June 9, was brief, as the committee on platform was not ready to report. The reports of the committees on credentials, rules and permanent organization were presented and adopted. The adoption of the rules committee report assured women of an equal voice in Republican party councils. The temporary organization of the convention was made permanent. Chauncey M. Depew made a witty speech and Mrs. Margaret Hill McCarter of Kansas spoke briefly on Republican ideals and the determination of American womanhood to uphold them.

In the meantime the committee on resolutions, of which Senator James E. Watson of Indiana had been made chairman, was in session day and night in an effort to reach an agreement on the League of Nations plank in the platform. The followers of Senator Hiram Johnson, Senator William E. Borah and other

outspoken opponents of the Treaty of Versailles said there would be a bolt and a third party if the League of Nations was indorsed, even in principle. Many desired such an indorsement with the proper reservations. What was mainly desired by the men actually in charge of the convention was approval of the course taken by the Republicans in the United States Senate in insisting upon reservations and in opposing President Wilson's treaty policies. An agreement in the nature of a compromise, was finally reached early on the morning of Thursday, June 10, but the platform was not ready for presentation at the forenoon session on that day. The convention, after a session lasting only seven minutes, adjourned until 4 p. m. The delegates then met and adopted the platform without debate or change.

On Friday, June 11, the convention held a session lasting from 9:50 a. m. to 7 p. m. All the speeches nominating candidates for the presidency were made and four ballots taken before adjournment. As had been foreseen, no one candidate received enough votes to win.

It became known early on Saturday morning that the senatorial leaders of the party had agreed to use every effort to secure the nomination of Senator Harding for the presidency before the day was ended. The plan succeeded and the candidates who had led in the state primaries went down to defeat. Four ballots were taken at the morning session of the convention, with Wood and Lowden running on almost even terms, Johnson led Harding on the fifth and sixth ballots, but on the seventh and eighth Harding began to show strength and it was freely predicted that he would finally win. After the recess the ninth ballot showed him in the lead, with Wood second and Lowden third. The Governor of Illinois had already released his delegates. Governor Sproul of Pennsylvania did the same a little later and on the tenth ballot Harding was made the choice of the convention by a decisive majority, receiving $692\frac{1}{2}$ votes, with 156 for Wood,

80½ for Johnson, and 11 for Lowden. Harding's nomination was then made unanimous.

The vice-presidential nomination was disposed of quickly. Only two candidates were considered seriously. These were Gov. Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts and Senator Irvine L. Lenroot of Wisconsin. The former was nominated on the first ballot by almost identically the same vote as that which brought victory to Senator Harding.

Speech of Acceptance

In formally accepting the Republican nomination to the presidency Senator Harding spoke in part as follows to the notification committee and others gathered at his home in Marion, O., July 22, 1920:

"Chairman Lodge, members of the notification committee, members of the national committee, ladies and gentlemen:

"The message which you have formally conveyed brings to me a realization of responsibility which is not underestimated. It is a supreme task to interpret the covenant of a great political party, the activities of which are so woven into the history of this republic, and a very sacred and solemn undertaking to utter the faith and aspirations of the many millions who adhere to that party. The party platform has charted the way, yet, somehow, we have come to expect that interpretation which voices the faith of nominees who must assume specific tasks.

"Let me be understood clearly from the very beginning. I believe in party sponsorship in government. I believe in party government, as distinguished from personal government, individual, dictatorial, autocratic or what not. In a citizenship of more than a hundred millions it is impossible to reach agreement upon all questions.

"Parties are formed by those who reach a consensus of opin-

ion. It was the intent of the founding fathers to give to this Republic a dependable and enduring popular government, representative in form, and it was designed to make political parties not only the preserving sponsors, but also the effective agencies through which hopes and aspirations and convictions and conscience may be translated into public performance.

"Popular government has been an inspiration of liberty since the dawn of civilization. Republics have risen and fallen, and a transition from party to personal government has preceded every failure since the world began. Under the constitution we have the charted way to security and perpetuity. We know it gave to us the safe path to a developing eminence which no people in the world ever rivaled. It has guaranteed the rule of intelligent, deliberate public opinion expressed through parties. Under this plan a masterful leadership becomingly may manifest its influence, but a people's will still remains the supreme authority.

"The American achievement under the plan of the fathers is nowhere disputed. On the contrary, the American example has been the model of every republic which glorifies the progress of liberty, and is everywhere the leaven of representative democracy which has expanded human freedom. It has been wrought through party government.

AGAINST ONE-MAN GOVERNMENT

"No man is big enough to run this great Republic. There never has been one. Such domination was never intended. Tranquility, stability, dependability—all are assured in party sponsorship, and we mean to renew the assurances which were rendered in the cataclysmal war.

"It was not surprising that we went far afield from safe and prescribed paths amid the war anxieties. There was the unfortunate tendency before; there was the surrender of congress to the growing assumption of the executive before the world war imperiled all the practices we had learned to believe in; and in the

war emergency every safeguard was swept away. In the name of democracy we established autocracy. We are not complaining at this extraordinary bestowal or assumption in war; it seemed temporarily necessary; our alarm is over the failure to restore the constitutional methods when the war emergency ended.

"Our first committal is the restoration of representative popular government, under the constitution, through the agency of the Republican party. Our vision includes more than a chief executive. We believe in a cabinet of highest capacity, equal to the responsibilities which our system contemplates, in whose councils the vice-president, second official of the Republic, shall be asked to participate.

"The same vision includes a cordial understanding and co-ordinated activities with a House of Congress, fresh from the people, voicing the convictions which members bring from direct contact with the electorate, and cordial co-operation along with the restored functions of the Senate, fit to be the greatest deliberative body of the world. Its members are the designated sentinels on the towers of constitutional government. The resumption of the Senate's authority saved to this Republic its independent nationality when autocracy misinterpreted the dream of a world experiment to be the vision of a world ideal.

WHAT THE WORLD NEEDED

"It is folly to close our eyes to outstanding facts. Humanity is restive, much of the world is in revolution, the agents of discord and destruction have wrought their tragedy in pathetic Russia, have lighted their torches among other peoples, and hope to see America as a part of the great red conflagration. Ours is the temple of liberty under the law and it is ours to call the sons of opportunity to its defense. America must not only save herself, but ours must be the appealing voice to sober the world.

"More than all else the present day world needs understanding. There can be no peace save through composed differences,

and the submission of the individual to the will and weal of the many. Any other plan means anarchy and its rule of force.

"It must be understood that toil alone makes for accomplishment and advancement, and righteous possession is the reward of toil and its incentive. There is no progress except in the stimulus of competition. When competition—natural, fair, impelling competition—is suppressed, whether by law, compact or conspiracy, we halt the march of progress, silence the voice of aspiration and paralyze the will for achievement. These are but common sense truths of human development.

"The chief trouble to-day is that the world war wrought the destruction of healthful competition, left our storehouses empty and there is a minimum production when our need is maximum. Maximums, not minimums, is the call of America. It isn't a new story, because war never fails to leave depleted storehouses and always impairs the efficiency of production. War also establishes its higher standards for wages, and they abide.

"I wish the higher wage to abide, on one explicit condition—that the wage earner will give full return for the wage received. It is the best assurance we can have for a reduced cost of living. Mark you, I am ready to acclaim the highest standard of pay, but I would be blind to the responsibilities that mark this fateful hour if I did not caution the wage earners of America that mounting wages and decreased production can lead only to industrial and economic ruin.

"I want, somehow, to appeal to the sons and daughters of the Republic, to every producer, to join hand and brain in production, more production, honest production, patriotic production, because patriotic production is no less a defense of our best civilization than that of armed force.

"Profiteering is a crime of commission, underproduction is a crime of omission. We must work our most and best, else the destructive reaction will come. We must stabilize and strive for

normalcy, else the inevitable reaction will bring its train of sufferings, disappointments and reversals. We want to forestall such reaction, we want to hold all advanced ground and fortify it with general good fortune.

INDUSTRIAL UNDERSTANDING

"Let us return for a moment to the necessity for understanding, particularly that understanding which concerns ourselves at home. I decline to recognize any conflict of interest among the participants in industry. The destruction of one is the ruin of the other, the suspicion or rebellion of one unavoidably involves the other. In conflict is disaster, in understanding there is triumph. There is no issue relating to the foundation on which industry is builded, because industry is bigger than any element in its modern making. But the insistent call is for labor, management and capital to reach understanding.

"The human element comes first and I want the employers in industry to understand the aspirations, the convictions, the yearnings of the millions of American wage earners and I want the wage earners to understand the problems, the anxieties, the obligations of management and capital, and all of them must understand their relation to the people and their obligation to the republic. Out of this understanding will come the unanimous committal to economic justice, and in economic justice lies that social justice which is the highest essential to human happiness.

"I am speaking as one who has counted the contents of the pay envelope from the viewpoint of the earner as well as the employer. No one pretends to deny the inequalities which are manifest in modern industrial life. They are less in fact than they were before organization and grouping on either side revealed the inequalities, and conscience has wrought more justice than statutes have compelled, but the ferment of the world rivets our thoughts on the necessity of progressive solution, else our generation will

suffer the experiment which means chaos for our day to re-establish God's plan for the great tomorrow.

"Speaking our sympathies, uttering the conscience of all the people, mindful of our right to dwell amid the good fortunes of rational, conscience-impelled advancement, we hold the majesty of righteous government with liberty under the law to be our avoidance of chaos and we call upon every citizen of the Republic to hold fast to that which made us what we are, and we will have orderly government safeguard the onward march to all we ought to be.

"The menacing tendency of the present day is not chargeable wholly to the unsettled and fevered conditions caused by the war. The manifest weakness in popular government lies in the temptation to appeal to grouped citizenship for political advantage. There is no greater peril. The Constitution contemplates no class and recognizes no group. It broadly includes all the people, with specific recognition for none, and the highest consecration we can make to-day is a committal of the Republican party to that saving constitutionalism which contemplates all America as one people and holds just government free from influence on the one hand and unmoved by intimidation on the other.

THRIFT AND ECONOMY NEEDED

"I have already alluded to the necessity for the fullness of production, and we need the fullness of service which attends the exchange of products. Let us speak the irrefutable truth, high wages and reduced cost of living are in utter contradiction unless we have the height of efficiency for wages received.

"In all sincerity we promise the prevention of unreasonable profits, we challenge profiteering with all the moral force and the legal powers of government and people, but it is fair, aye, it is timely, to give reminder that law is not the sole corrective of our economic ills.

"Let us call to all the people for thrift and economy, for denial and sacrifice if need be, for a nationwide drive against extravagance and luxury, to a recommittal to simplicity of living, to that prudent and normal plan of life which is the health of the Republic. There hasn't been a recovery from the waste and abnormalities of war since the story of mankind was first written except through work and saving, through industry and denial, while needless spending and heedless extravagance have marked every decay in the history of nations. Give the assurance of that rugged simplicity of American life which marked the first century of amazing development and this generation may underwrite a second century of surpassing accomplishment.

TENETS OF HIS BELIEF

"I believe the budget system will effect a necessary, helpful reformation and reveal business methods to government business.

"I believe federal departments should be made more business-like and send back to productive effort thousands of federal employes who are either duplicating work or not essential at all.

"I believe in the protective tariff policy and know we will be calling for its saving Americanism again.

"I believe in a great merchant marine—I would have this Republic the leading maritime nation of the world.

"I believe in a navy ample to protect it and able to assure us dependable defense.

"I believe in a small army, but the best in the world, with a mindfulness for preparedness which will avoid the unutterable cost of our previous neglect.

"I believe in our eminence in trade abroad, which the government should aid in expanding, both in revealing markets and speeding cargoes.

"I believe in establishing standards for immigration which are concerned with the future citizenship of the Republic, not with mere man power in industry.

"I believe that every man who dons the garb of American citizenship and walks in the light of American opportunity must become American in heart and soul.

"I believe in holding fast to every forward step in unshackling child labor and elevating conditions of woman's employment.

"I believe the federal government should stamp out lynching and remove that stain from the fair name of America.

"I believe the federal government should give its effective aid in solving the problem of ample and becoming housing of its citizenship.

"I believe this government should make its liberty and victory bonds worth all that its patriotic citizens paid in purchasing them.

"I believe the tax burdens imposed for the war emergency must be revised to the needs of peace and in the interest of equity in distribution of the burden.

"I believe the negro citizens of America should be guaranteed the enjoyment of all their rights, that they have earned the full measure of citizenship bestowed, that their sacrifices in blood on the battle fields of the Republic have entitled them to all of freedom and opportunity, all of sympathy and aid that the American spirit of fairness and justice demands.

PLEDGES HIMSELF TO SERVICE

"Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, my countrymen all: I would not be my natural self if I did not utter my consciousness of my limited ability to meet your full expectations or to realize the aspirations within my own breast, but I will gladly give all that is in me, all of heart, soul, mind and abiding love of country, to service in our common cause.

"I can only pray to the omnipotent God that I may be as worthy in service as I know myself to be faithful in thought and purpose. One cannot give more.

"Mindful of the vast responsibilities, I must be frankly humble, but I have that confidence in the consideration and support of

all true Americans which makes me wholly unafraid. With an unalterable faith and in a hopeful spirit, with a hymn of service in my heart, I pledge fidelity to our country and to God and accept the nomination of the Republican party for the presidency of the United States."

Coolidge for Reconstruction

Calvin Coolidge in an address formally accepting the Republican nomination for vice-president at notification ceremonies at Northampton, Mass., July 27, 1920, urged the country to summon its forces to solve the problems of reconstruction. He devoted the greater part of his address to a discussion of domestic issues, but called first for a "return to a thoroughly peace basis, because that is the fundamental American basis."

A "Front Porch" Campaign

During the ensuing campaign Senator Harding remained most of the time at home, receiving multitudes of visitors and making frequent addresses from the porch of his home. He made a notable trip toward the Northwest, going into Minnesota, and another southward and eastward, visiting Kentucky, West Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York State, making everywhere a strong and favorable impression upon the people. His attitude toward the League of Nations issue was expressed as follows:

"It will avail nothing to discuss in detail the League covenant, which was conceived for world super-government, negotiated in misunderstanding and intolerantly urged and demanded by its administration sponsors, who resisted every effort to safeguard America, and who finally rejected it when such safeguards were inserted. If the supreme blunder has left European relationships inextricably interwoven in the League compact, our sympathy for Europe only magnifies our own good fortune in resisting involvement. It is better to be the free and disinterested agent of international justice and advancing civilization, with the covenant of conscience, than be shackled by a written compact which sur-

renders our freedom of action and gives to a military alliance the right to proclaim America's duty to the world. No surrender of rights to a world council or its military alliance, no assumed mandatory, however appealing, ever shall summon the sons of this Republic to war. Their supreme sacrifice shall be asked only for America and its call of honor. There is a sanctity in that right we will not delegate."

Senator Harding, according to close friends, originally had little hope of getting the Presidential nomination. His personal preference was for renomination for Senator—his term ending that year—and he told Henry M. Daugherty, when the latter first suggested that he become a candidate for President, that he could not get the nomination and that the result would be that he would necessarily lose the nomination for the Senate. Several times Senator Harding was reported to be on the verge of withdrawing as a candidate for President, but was prevailed upon by Mr. Daugherty to remain in the race.

Shortly after the convention Senator Harding told a newspaper reporter that he had but small hope of getting the nomination until the night before it was decided and that it was made possible only by the deadlock of Wood, Lowden and Johnson.

"With Wood, Johnson and Lowden out of the way," Senator Harding said, in telling of his feeling the night before the nomination, "I knew I could count on friends in every one of their delegations, because I had followed in my preconvention campaigning the rule that has guided me throughout my political career, which is not to hurt any one's feelings or to step on anybody's toes if I could find foot room elsewhere. I figured that if politeness and an honest desire not to humiliate any rival just for the sake of winning a few votes were ever going to produce anything, this was the time. Other fellows, just as competent as I, or more so, had made enemies, and it looked to me that there was no one in sight that the convention could unite on except myself."

The reaction against President Wilson and the League of Nations, the flames of which were fanned by the Republican leaders, was at its height. Senator Harding for the most part remained at his home in Marion and conducted his campaign by speeches to visiting delegations. The policy of the Republican campaign management was to "play safe," and Senator Harding's speeches indicated an acquiescence in that policy.

Perhaps his greatest difficulty during the campaign—certainly the greatest difficulty of his campaign managers—was his attitude toward the League of Nations. A group of influential Republicans, among whom were Mr. Hughes, Mr. Hoover, George W. Wickersham, formerly Attorney-General, and others, were for some form of participation by the United States in international work for peace. The "bitter-enders," headed vocally by Senators Hiram Johnson and William E. Borah, but including also a number of Senators classed as belonging to the "Old Guard," were opposed to any such participation. It was Senator Harding's task to hold between the two.

Mr. Harding did this. He advanced the idea of an association of nations, in which the right of independent action of the United States should be preserved, as a substitute for the League of Nations, and declared that in his opinion an international court of justice, subsequently embodied in his World Court proposal, was the cornerstone of any international effort to promote peace.

Efforts were made to commit Senator Harding to the League idea. Pro-League Republicans expressed confidence that he would advocate some form of international co-operation, if elected, and a committee of distinguished Republicans issued a statement to that effect. The candidate, however, did not commit himself to these statements and later had occasion to say that he could not be responsible for views expressed by anybody but himself.

Added to other factors in shaping the result of the election

was a certain resentment against war taxation and the cost of living, which necessarily operated against the party in power. All these things contributed to the Republican landslide which followed.

In the "great and solemn referendum" upon the League issue which President Wilson had invoked in November, 1920, Mr. Harding was elected President by incomparably the largest majority, both popular and electoral, ever given to any candidate. His popular vote was 16,138,914 against 9,142,438 for his opponent, former Governor James M. Cox, of Ohio, a majority of approximately 7,000,000. In the Electoral College he received 404 votes to 127 for Mr. Cox, a majority of 277, or more than twice Mr. Cox's entire vote.

With full suffrage everywhere, the woman voters of the country went to the polls at the presidential election almost as numerous as the men. In nearly all the States no distinction is made as to sex in the balloting, so that it is impossible to say just how many women's votes were cast in the presidential election on Nov. 2, 1920. The reports indicate that they ranged from 35 to nearly 50 per cent of the total. In Illinois the total woman vote was 795,453 out of 2,094,714, or 38 per cent.

ADDRESS TO SENATE AFTER ELECTION

President-Elect Harding was in the Senate chamber on the opening day of the last session of the 66th congress, Dec. 6, 1920. Before the Senate adjourned for the day Senator Lodge rose and said:

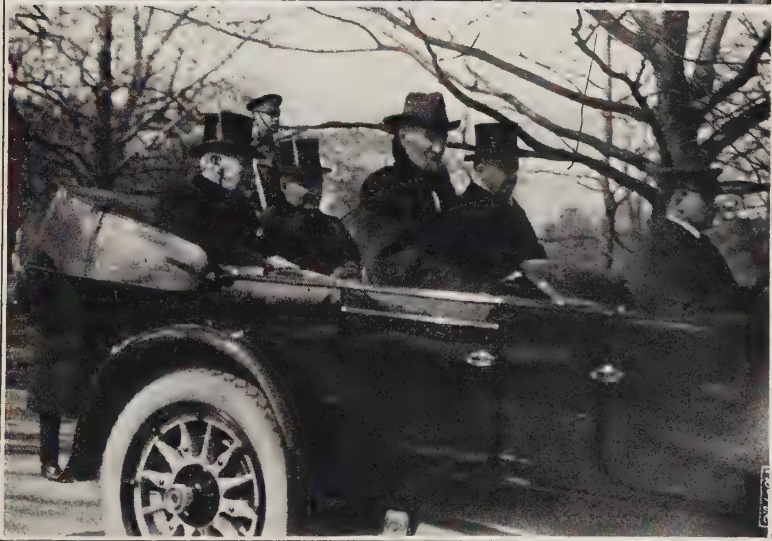
"Mr. President, before making a motion to adjourn I cannot refrain from calling attention to the fact that this is a memorable occasion. For the first time in the history of the country a member of this body has been elected President of the United States. He is here with us to-day, still a Senator, and I venture to suggest that he may be recognized by the chair to speak informally

to the Senate before he leaves his service here." [Great applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

Mr. Harding was escorted to the Vice-President's desk by the Vice-President, and addressed the Senate as follows:

"Mr. President and Members of the Senate: I am grateful for this greeting on the part of the membership of this body. I am the more pleased that it affords me an opportunity to say to you rather informally some of the things in my heart which I could utter probably in no other way. I am conscious of the fact that I am here to-day under somewhat unusual circumstances, and I am not unmindful that there is a delicacy about my position which one cannot escape except through some form of self-effacement which does not seem quite possible.

"No member of this body could be more reluctant to leave it than am I. I may say to the Senate that I came here with very high respect for this body, and I am leaving it with greater respect than that with which I came. If one could always direct his own political fortunes to his liking, I should have preferred my membership here to any office a citizen may hold in this Republic or elsewhere in the world. I like the freedom, the association, the patriotic sense of responsibility which abides here. I am conscious of the great place which congress holds in this government under our constitution, and from my service here I am particularly sensible to the obligations of the Senate. When my responsibilities begin in the executive capacity I shall be as mindful of the Senate's responsibilities as I have been jealous for them as a member, but I mean at the same time to be just as insistent about the responsibilities of the executive. Our governmental good fortune does not lie in any surrender at either end of the avenue, but in the co-ordination and co-operation which becomes the two in a great and truly representative popular government.



Above—Senator Harding Starting His Front Porch Campaign for the Presidency in 1920, at His Home in Marion, Ohio.

Below—Mr. Harding and Mr. Wilson Riding to the Capitol for the Harding Inaugural Ceremony, March 4, 1921. "Uncle Joe" Cannon and Senator Knox on the Front Seat.

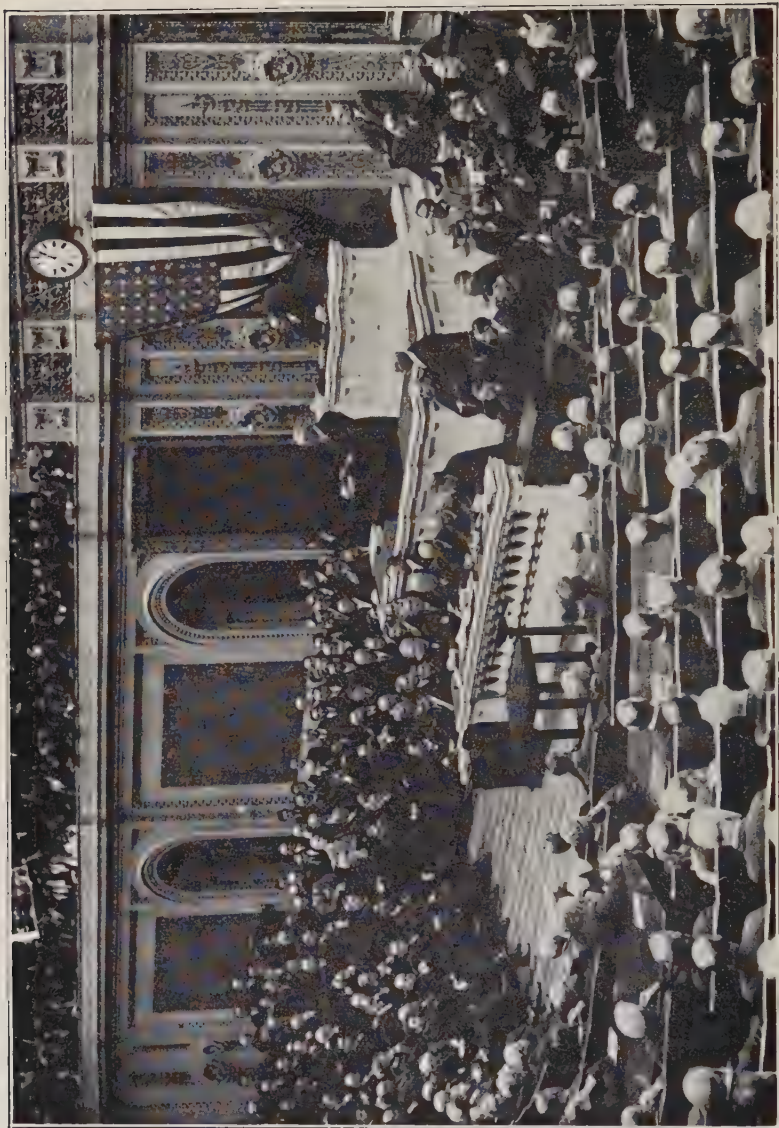
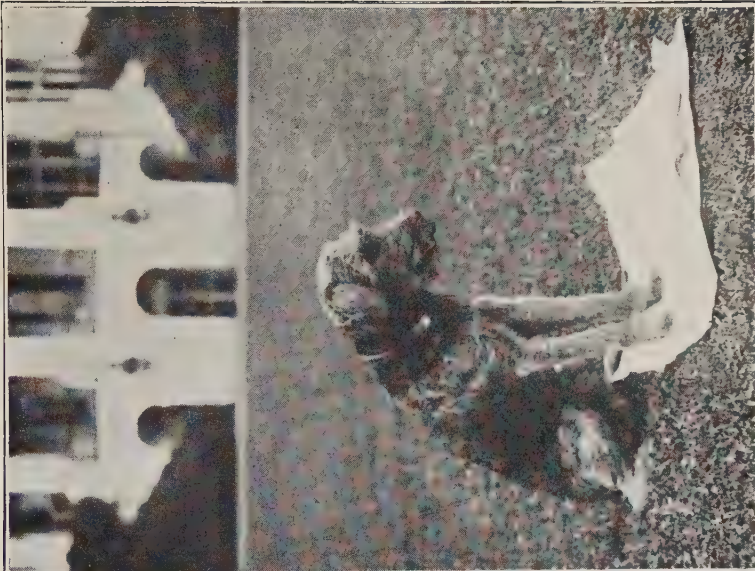


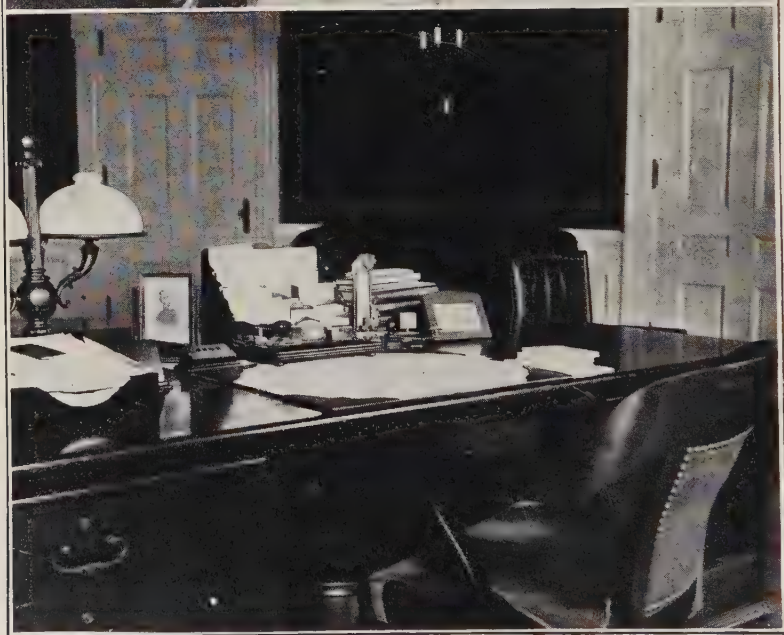
Photo Copyright U. & U.
President Harding Reading His First Message to Congress at a Joint Session in the House of Representatives, April 12, 1921.



"Laddie Boy" Welcoming His Master, President Harding, on the Porch of the White House When He Returned from His Florida Trip Early in 1923.



P. & A. Photo
"Laddie Boy" on the White House Lawn After His Master's Death, Showing Plainly That He Feels the Sad News in the Paper Before Him Is True.



P. & A. Photo
 Above—President and Mrs. Harding Leaving the White House, June 20, 1923, to
 Start Their Trip to Alaska.
 Below—The Late President's Desk at the White House, Showing Photograph of
 His Mother on the Desk.

"This brings me to the thought particularly in my mind. Something has been said about the senatorial oligarchy. Of course, every one here knows that to be a bit of highly imaginative and harmless fiction. But I do recognize how essential is the helpfulness of congress, and particularly of the Senate, in the making of a successful national administration. I want to express to-day the wish of a colleague for the confidence and the co-operation of the members of this body in the four years which begins next March 4. I do not limit this sincere request to this side of the aisle. One cannot promise agreement in all things with an opposite party which is sometimes insistently wrong; but we may find common ground in the spirit of service; and I hope, sirs, for that agreeable and courteous and oftentimes helpful relationship with the opposite side which has added to the delights of fellow-service during the last six years.

"We are facing no easy task. We have our full part in the readjustment of human affairs after the world tumult. We have our tasks at home; we have our part in the inevitable work of the civilized world. I am sure that the necessity of wise solution will inspire us to work together, to take common counsel, to be tolerant of one another, and to give the best which is in all of us to attain the ends which become our Republic at home and will maintain its high place among the nations of the earth.

"With propriety I cannot venture upon any suggestions now, even though I am speaking as a member of this body. Three months of the present administration remain, and I would have House and Senate join cordially in making them fruitful rather than wasted months. There is so much to be done and we have already had so much of delay that I should like unanimous recognition that there are no party ends to serve, but precious days are calling for service to our common country.

"I cannot resist, Mr. President and Senators, the repetition of my regret that my associations on this floor and in committee

rooms is ending to-day. It has been a happy and a proud experience. Let me express the hope to one and all that though there comes a change in official relationship, it will not interrupt our co-operation nor deprive us of the personal fellowship which I have found to be a great compensation for the sacrifices of conscientious public service." [Applause.]

* * *

The President-elect went to Texas, Jamaica, and the Panama Canal Zone for a pre-inauguration vacation. He went first to Point Isabel, Texas. With him were Mrs. Harding, Senators Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, Hale of Maine, and Elkins of West Virginia; Harry M. Daugherty, who had been his pre-convention manager; George B. Christian, Jr., his secretary, and several others. From Point Isabel the party went to New Orleans and thence to the Canal Zone. He made one or two speeches and was back in the United States early in December, reaching Washington, December 6.

His reception in the Senate, as already noted, was most flattering. He stayed in Washington but a brief time, however, then returned to Marion, where he conferred informally with friends and advisers on the proposal for the formation of an association of nations. Out of this meeting grew the disarmament conference in Washington.

Before taking office in March, 1921, the President-elect went to Florida, as the guest of his close friend, Senator Joseph S. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey. It was while at St. Augustine that Mr. Harding announced the first of his Cabinet appointments, that of Charles E. Hughes to be Secretary of State.

CHAPTER VIII.

INAUGURATION DAY

Ceremonies Marked by Dignified Simplicity—Desires of the President-Elect—The Presidential Parade—Harding Takes the Oath—Sworn on the George Washington Bible—The Inaugural Address—Composition of the New Cabinet.

The inauguration of Warren G. Harding as President of the United States on March 4, 1921, was marked by dignified simplicity, in accordance with his own expressed wish, and the preliminaries gave the nation an early insight into the truly democratic character of its new leader.

When the matter of appropriating money with which to pay the expenses of the ceremonies came up in Congress early in January, 1921, a disposition was shown in some quarters to make the affair an elaborate and costly one. Much opposition was shown to this program by speakers in both houses who urged that the people of the country demanded economy in the national expenditures. The Senate passed a joint resolution on January 5 to appropriate \$50,000 to pay the inauguration expenses and the resolution was concurred in by the House on January 10. Immediately after this action had been taken, Mr. Harding sent the following telegram to Senator P. C. Knox, chairman of the congressional committee on the inauguration:

"I have been reluctant to intrude my views relating to inaugural plans, but I cannot longer remain silent without embarrassment and misunderstanding, which I had rather avoid. Please convey

to your committee my sincere wish for the simplest inaugural program consistent with the actual requirements in taking the oath of office and the utterance of a befitting address. I very respectfully request that congress will not appropriate and your committee will not expend any fund whatever. I am familiar with the custom of erecting a platform and providing seats for guests who witness the ceremony at the capitol, but it will be most pleasing to me to have this ceremony take place within the Capitol or on the east porch in its stately simplicity, without a single extra preparation for the occasion.

"This will require no expense, and we shall be joint participants in an example of economy as well as simplicity which may be helpful in the process of seeking our normal ways once more. I have addressed a message of like import to the inaugural committee asking the abandonment of the parade and ball, and hope for an acceptance of the intruded suggestion in the spirit which has inspired it.

"WARREN G. HARDING."

Mr. Harding also sent the following telegram to Edward B. McLean, chairman of the Washington citizens' inaugural committee:

"I beg respectfully to suggest to your committee the complete abandonment of all plans for an inaugural celebration. Heretofore I have been very reluctant to express my personal views to your committee because I knew of the cherished regard in our national capital for this quadrennial event and the generosity of the citizens of the district in making provision for it.

"You were good enough to accept the chairmanship at my request, and you and your associates have won my lasting gratitude for the time and labor you have given to preparation.

"However, if it is becoming to express my preference, I wish you and your committee to know that the impression of extravagant expenditure and excessive cost would make me a very un-

happy participant. I know full well that the government outlay is relatively small, and that the larger expenditure comes from the generous contributions of district citizenship, but it is timely and wholesome to practice the utter denial of public expenditure where there is no real necessity, and it will be a wholesome example of economy and thrift if we save the many, many thousands which the inaugural celebration will call from the private purse of those attending.

"I have sent a message of like purport to the congressional committee, and expressed the wish that no preparations or outlay of any kind be made. It will be most pleasing to me to be simply sworn in, speak briefly my plight of faith to the country, and turn at once to the work which will be calling. Again expressing my gratitude to you and your associates and to the generous people of Washington, I am,

"Very respectfully,

"WARREN G. HARDING."

Mr. McLean accepted Mr. Harding's view of the matter and canceled the arrangements that had been made by his committee. So far as the plans had been agreed upon they called for an expenditure of \$141,000 in addition to the appropriation by Congress.

The weather on inauguration day was clear and rather chilly. The crowds assembled on Pennsylvania avenue to witness the historic ride from the White House to the Capitol by the outgoing and incoming presidents were smaller than usual, as the presidential parade consisted only of a troop of cavalry and a dozen automobiles. Later in the day when President and Mrs. Harding returned to the White House the crowds were larger and the cheering more enthusiastic.

President Wilson, though far from well and in opposition to the advice of his medical advisers, rode with Mr. Harding to the Capitol with the intention of attending all the ceremonies if pos-

sible. However, he found that he was not equal to the task and after notifying Congress that he had no further communications to make, left with Mrs. Wilson for their new home at 2340 S Street, N. W.

The first ceremonial of the day, the inauguration of Vice-President Calvin Coolidge, took place in the Senate chamber in the presence of a notable gathering including the President-elect, foreign ambassadors and ministers, members of the new and old cabinets, justices of the Supreme Court, members of both houses of Congress, and distinguished guests. The oath of office was administered to Mr. Coolidge by Vice-President Thomas R. Marshall at 12:21 p. m. The retiring presiding officer of the Senate then delivered his valedictory, after which the formal adjournment of the Sixty-sixth Congress and the calling of the Senate into special session took place.

At the conclusion of the Senate ceremonies President-Elect Harding, the justices of the Supreme Court, the members of the diplomatic corps and the members of the congressional committees on arrangements retired to an anteroom while the others in the Senate chamber proceeded to the east room of the Capitol to witness the inauguration of the new President. This took place in a kiosk erected on the east Capitol steps for the outdoor ceremony. In front of and below it were the Marine Band, guards composed of marines, regulars and sailors, and thousands of spectators. After the chief guests of the occasion had taken their places the President-elect, escorted by Senator Knox, came down the steps and took his place before a desk in the center of the kiosk. The marshal of the Supreme Court laid the old Bible, on which George Washington had taken the oath of office as President, open on the desk. Mr. Harding laid one hand on the book and lifted the other as he repeated the following oath, administered by Edward D. White, chief justice of the United States Supreme Court:

"I, Warren Gamaliel Harding, do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, so help me God."

Mr. Harding then bent over the Bible and kissed it at a passage which he had selected from the book of Micah, saying:

"What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God?"

Inaugural Address

Thereupon the new President delivered his inaugural address, as follows:

"My countrymen, when one surveys the world about him after the great storm, noting the marks of destruction and yet rejoicing in the ruggedness of the things which withstood it, if he is an American he breathes the clarified atmosphere with a strange mingling of regret and new hope.

"We have seen world passion spend its fury, but we contemplate our Republic unshaken and hold our civilization secure. Liberty—liberty within the law—and civilization are inseparable, and, though both were threatened, we find them now secure, and there comes to Americans the profound assurance that our representative government is the highest expression and surest guaranty of both.

"Standing in this presence, mindful of the solemnity of this occasion, feeling the emotions which no one may know until he senses the great weight of responsibility for himself, I must utter my belief in the divine inspiration of the founding fathers. Surely there must have been God's intent in the making of this new world republic. Ours is an organic law which had but one ambiguity, and we saw that effaced in a baptism of sacrifice and blood, with union maintained, the nation supreme and its concord inspiring.

"We have seen the world rivet its hopeful gaze on the great truths on which the founders wrought. We have seen civil, human and religious liberty verified and glorified.

"In the beginning, the old world scoffed at our experiment. To-day our foundations of political and social belief stand unshaken, a precious inheritance to ourselves, an inspiring example of freedom and civilization to all mankind.

"Let us express renewed and strengthened devotion in grateful reverence for the immortal beginning and utter our confidence in the supreme fulfillment.

"The recorded progress of our Republic, materially and spiritually, in itself proves the wisdom of the inherited policy of non-involvement in old-world affairs. Confident of our ability to work out our own destiny and jealously guarding our right to do so, we seek no part in directing the destinies of the old world.

NOT TO BE ENTANGLED

"We do not mean to be entangled. We will accept no responsibility except as our own conscience and judgment in each instance may determine.

"Our eyes never will be blinded to a developing menace, our ears never deaf to the call of civilization. We recognize the new order in the world, with the closer contacts which progress has wrought. We sense the feeling of the human heart for fellowship, fraternity and co-operation. We crave friendship and harbor no hate.

"But America, our America, the America builded on the foundation laid by the inspired fathers, can be a party to no permanent military alliance. It can enter into no political commitments, nor assume any economic obligations or subject our decisions to any other than our own authority.

"I am sure our own people will not misunderstand nor will the world misconstrue. We have no thought to impede the paths to closer relationship. We wish to promote understanding. We

want to do our part in making offensive warfare so hateful that governments and peoples who resort to it must prove the righteousness of their cause or stand as outlaws before the bar of civilization.

"We are ready to associate ourselves with the nations of the world, great and small, for conference, for counsel, to seek the expressed views of world opinion, to recommend a way to approximate disarmament and relieve the crushing burdens of military and naval establishments.

"We elect to participate in suggesting plans for mediation, conciliation and arbitration, and would gladly join in that expressed conscience of progress which seeks to clarify and write the laws of international relationship and establish a world court for the disposition of such justiciable questions as nations are agreed to submit thereto.

"In expressing aspirations, in seeking practical plans, in translating humanity's new concept of righteousness, justice and its hatred of war into recommended action we are ready most heartily to unite, but every commitment must be made in the exercise of our national sovereignty.

"Since freedom impelled and independence inspired and nationality exalted, a world super-government is contrary to everything we cherish and can have no sanction by our Republic. This is not selfishness; it is sanctity. It is not aloofness; it is security. It is not suspicion of others; it is patriotic adherence to the things which made us what we are.

"To-day, better than ever before, we know the aspirations of humankind and share them. We have come to a new realization of our place in the world and a new appraisal of our nation by the world. The unselfishness of these United States is a thing proven; our devotion to peace for ourselves and for the world is well established; our concern for preserved civilization has had its impassioned and heroic expression. There was no American

failure to resist the attempted reversion of civilization; there will be no failure to-day or to-morrow.

RESTS ON POPULAR WILL

"The success of our popular government rests wholly upon the correct interpretation of the deliberate, intelligent, dependable popular will of America. In deliberate questioning of a suggested change of national policy where internationality was to supersede nationality we turned to a referendum of the American people. There was ample discussion, and there is a public mandate in manifest understanding.

"America is ready to encourage, eager to initiate, anxious to participate in any seemly program likely to lessen the probability of war and promote that brotherhood of mankind which must be God's highest conception of human relationship. Because we cherish ideals of justice and peace, because we appraise international comity and helpful relationship no less highly than any people of the world, we aspire to a high place in the moral leadership of civilization, and we hold a maintained America, the proven republic, the unshaken temple of representative democracy, to be not only an inspiration and example but the highest agency of strengthening good will and promoting accord on both continents.

"Mankind needs a worldwide benediction of understanding. It is needed among individuals, among peoples, among governments, and it will inaugurate an era of good feeling to mark the birth of a new order. In such understanding men will strive confidently for the promotion of their better relationships and nations will promote the comities so essential to peace.

TRADE TIES BIND CLOSELY

"We must understand that ties of trade bind nations in closest intimacy and none may receive except as he gives. We have not strengthened ours in accordance with our resources or our genius, notably on our own continent, where a galaxy of republics reflect the glory of the new world democracy; but in the new order of

finance and trade we mean to promote enlarged activities and seek expanded confidence.

"Perhaps we can make no more helpful contribution by example than prove a republic's capacity to emerge from the wreckage of war. While the world's embittered travail did not leave us devastated lands or desolated cities, left no gaping wounds, no breast with hate, it did involve us in the delirium of expenditure, in expanded currency and credits, in unbalanced industry, unspeakable waste and disturbed relationships.

"While it uncovered our portion of hateful selfishness at home, it also revealed the heart of America as sound and fearless and beating in confidence unailing.

"Amid it all we have riveted the gaze of all civilization to the unselfishness and the righteousness of representative democracy, where our freedom never has made offensive warfare, never has sought territorial aggrandizement through force, never has turned to the arbitrament of arms until reason had been exhausted.

"When the governments of earth shall have established a freedom like our own and shall have sanctioned the pursuit of peace as we have practiced it, I believe the last sorrow and the final sacrifice of international warfare will have been written.

"Our supreme task is the resumption of our onward normal way. Reconstruction, readjustment, restoration—all these must follow. I would like to have them. If it will lighten the spirit and add to the resolution with which we take up the task, let me repeat for our nation we shall give no people just cause to make war upon us. We hold no national prejudice; we entertain no spirit of revenge; we do not hate; we do not covet; we dream of no conquest or boast of armed prowess.

"If, respite this attitude, war is again forced upon us, I earnestly hope a way may be found which will unify our individual and collective strength and consecrate all America, materially and spiritually, body and soul, to national defense.

"I can vision the ideal republic, where every man and woman is called under the flag for assignment to duty, for whatever service, military or civic, the individual is best fitted; where we may call to universal service every plant, agency or facility, all in the sublime sacrifice for country, and not one penny of war profit shall inure to the benefit of private individual, corporation or combination, but all above the normal shall flow into the defense chest of the nation.

"There is something inherently wrong, something out of accord with the ideals of representative democracy, when one portion of our citizenship turns its activity to private gain amid defensive war, while another is fighting, sacrificing or dying for national preservation.

"Out of such universal service will come a new unity of spirit and purpose, a new confidence and consecration which would make our defense impregnable, our triumph assured. Then we should have little or no disorganization of our economic, industrial and commercial systems at home, no staggering war debts, no swollen fortunes to flout the sacrifices of our soldiers, no excuse for sedition, no pitiable slackerism, no outrages of treason. Envy and jealousy would have no soil for their menacing development, and revolution would be without the passion which engenders it.

"A regret for the mistakes of yesterday must not, however, blind us to the tasks of to-day. War never left such an aftermath. There has been staggering loss of life and measureless wastage of materials. Nations are still groping for return to stable ways. Discouraging indebtedness confronts us, like all the war-torn nations, and these obligations must be provided for. No civilization can survive repudiation.

FOR BLOW AT WAR TAXATION

"We can reduce the abnormal expenditures, and we will. We can strike at war taxation, and we must. We must face the grim

necessity with full knowledge that the task is to be solved, and we must proceed with a full realization that no statute enacted by man can repeal the inexorable laws of nature. Our most dangerous tendency is to expect too much of government and at the same time do for it too little.

"We contemplate the immediate task of putting our public household in order. We need a rigid and yet sane economy, combined with fiscal justice, and it must be attended by individual prudence and thrift, which are so essential to this trying hour and reassuring for the future.

REFLECTION OF WAR'S REACTION

"The business world reflects the disturbance of war's reaction. Herein flows the life blood of material existence. The economic mechanism is intricate and its parts interdependent and it has suffered the shocks and jars incident to abnormal demands, credit inflations and price upheavals. The normal balances have been impaired, the channels of distribution have been clogged, the relations of labor and management have been strained.

"We must seek the readjustment with care and courage. Our people must give and take. Prices must reflect the receding fever of war activities. Perhaps we never shall know the old level of wage again, because war invariably readjusts compensations, and the necessities of life will show their inseparable relationship, but we must strive for normalcy to reach stability. All the penalties will not be light or evenly distributed.

"There is no way of making them so. There is no instant step from disorder to order. We must face a condition of grim reality, charge off our losses and start afresh. It is the oldest lesson of civilization. I would like government to do all it can to mitigate them. In understanding, in mutuality of interest, in concern for the common good our tasks will be solved.

"No altered system will work a miracle. Any wild experiment

will only add to the confusion. Our best assurance lies in efficient administration of our proven system.

"The forward course of the business cycle is unmistakable. People are turning from destruction to production. Industry has sensed the changed order, and our own people are turning to resume their normal onward way.

"The call is for productive America to go on. I know that congress and the administration will favor every wise government policy to aid the resumption and encourage continued progress.

"I speak for administrative efficiency, for lightened tax burdens, for sound commercial practices, for adequate credit facilities, for sympathetic concern for all agricultural problems, for the omission of unnecessary interference of government with business, for an end to government's experiment in business and for more efficient business in government administration.

"With all of this must attend a mindfulness of the human side of all activities, so that social, industrial and economic justice will be squared with the purposes of a righteous people.

"With the nationwide induction of womanhood into our political life we may count upon her intuitions, her refinement, her intelligence and her influence to exalt the social order. We count upon her exercise of the full privileges and the performance of the duties of citizenship to speed the attainment of the highest state.

HOPE FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE

"I wish for an America no less alert in guarding against dangers from within than it is watchful against enemies from without. Our fundamental law recognizes no class, no group, no section. There must be none in legislation or administration. The supreme inspiration is the common weal. Humanity hungers for international peace, and we crave it with all mankind.

"My most reverent prayer for America is for industrial peace,

with its rewards widely and generally distributed amid the inspirations of equal opportunity.

"No one justly may deny the equality of opportunity which made us what we are. We have mistaken unpreparedness to embrace it to be a challenge of the reality; and due concern for making all citizens fit for participation will give added strength of citizenship and magnify our achievements.

"If revolution insists upon overturning established order, let other peoples make the tragic experiment. There is no place for it in America.

"When world war threatened civilization we pledged our resources and our lives to its preservation, and when revolution threatens we unfurl the flag of law and order and renew our consecration.

"Ours is a constitutional freedom, where the popular will is the law supreme and minorities are sacredly protected. Our revisions, reformations and evolutions reflect a deliberate judgment and an orderly progress, and we mean to cure our ills, but never destroy or permit destruction by force.

"I had rather submit our industrial controversies to the conference table in advance than to a settlement table after conflict and suffering. The earth is thirsting for the cup of good will. Understanding is its fountain source. I would like to acclaim an era of good feeling amid dependable prosperity and all the blessings which attend.

"It has been proved again and again that we cannot while throwing our markets open to the world maintain American standards of living and opportunity and hold our industrial eminence in such unequal competition. There is a luring fallacy in the theory of banished barriers of trade, but preserved American standards require our higher production costs to be reflected in our tariffs on imports.

"To-day as never before, when peoples are seeking trade res-

toration and expansion, we must adjust our tariffs to the new order. We seek participation in the world's exchanges, because therein lies our way to widened influence and the triumphs of peace. We know full well we cannot sell where we do not buy, and we cannot sell successfully where we do not carry.

"Opportunity is calling not alone for the restoration but for a new era in production, transportation and trade. We shall answer it best by meeting the demand of a surpassing home market, by promoting self-reliance in production and by bidding enterprise, genius and efficiency to carry our cargoes in American bottoms to the marts of the world.

COMMON WELFARE IS THE GOAL

"We would not have an America living within and for herself alone, but we would have her self-reliant, independent and ever nobler, stronger and richer. Believing in our higher standards, reared through constitutional liberty and maintained opportunity, we invite the world to the same heights. But pride in things wrought is no reflex of a completed task. Common welfare is the goal of our national endeavor. Wealth is not inimical to welfare; it ought to be its friendliest agency.

"There never can be equality of rewards or possessions so long as the human plan contains varied talents and differing degrees of industry and thrift, but ours ought to be a country free from great blotches of distressed poverty. We ought to find a way to guard against the perils and penalties of unemployment.

"We want an America of homes, illumined with hope and happiness, where mothers, freed from the necessity for long hours of toil beyond their own doors, may preside as befits the hearthstone of American citizenship. We want the cradle of American childhood rocked under conditions so wholesome and so hopeful that no blight may touch it in its development, and we want to provide that no selfish interest, no material necessity, no lack of oppor-

tunity shall prevent the gaining of that education so essential to best citizenship.

"There is no short cut to the making of these ideals into glad realities. The world has witnessed, again and again, the futility and the mischief of ill-considered remedies for social and economic disorders.

"But we are mindful to-day as never before of the friction of modern industrialism, and we must learn its causes and reduce its evil consequences by sober and tested methods. Where genius has made for great possibilities, justice and happiness must be reflected in a greater common welfare.

"Service is the supreme commitment of life. I would rejoice to acclaim the era of the golden rule and crown it with the autocracy of service. I pledge an administration wherein all the agencies of government are called to serve and ever promote an understanding of government purely as an expression of the popular will.

"One cannot stand in this presence and be unmindful of the tremendous responsibility. The world upheaval has added heavily to our task. But with the realization comes the surge of high resolve, and there is reassurance in belief in the God-given destiny of our republic.

"If I felt that there is to be sole responsibility in the executive for the America of tomorrow I should shrink from the burden. But here are a hundred millions, with common concern and shared responsibility, answerable to God and country. The Republic summons them to their duty, and I invite co-operation.

"I accept my part with single-mindedness of purpose and humility of spirit and implore the favor and guidance of God in His heaven. With these I am unafraid and confidently face the future.

"I have taken the solemn oath of office on that passage of holy writ wherein it is asked: 'What doth the Lord require of thee

but to do justly and to love mercy and walk humbly with thy God?" This I plight to God and country."

THE NEW CABINET

President Harding's first public act after his inauguration was to go before the Senate in secret executive session and submit in person his list of cabinet officers. After presenting his nominations he returned to his private room prior to leaving the Capitol for the White House. So far as the Senate attaches and others knew it was the first time a President had attended a Senate executive session since the days of Washington and Jefferson. The list of cabinet officers, all of whom were confirmed without opposition, was as follows:

Charles Evans Hughes of New York, Secretary of State.

Andrew William Mellon of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury.

John Wingate Weeks of Massachusetts, Secretary of War.

Harry M. Daugherty of Ohio, Attorney-General.

Will H. Hays of Indiana, Postmaster-General.

Edwin Denby of Michigan, Secretary of the Navy.

Albert Bacon Fall of New Mexico, Secretary of Interior.

Henry Cantwell Wallace of Iowa, Secretary of Agriculture.

Herbert Clark Hoover of California, Secretary of Commerce.

James John Davis of Illinois, Secretary of Labor.

With the exception of Secretary Hays and Secretary Fall, these cabinet officers continued in office until President Harding's death. Secretary Fall was succeeded by Dr. Hubert Work as Secretary of the Interior and Mr. Hays by Harry S. New as Postmaster-General in 1922.

Throughout the nation there was a general approval of these Cabinet selections and the new Administration was regarded as having considerably bulwarked itself against the coming years of intensive labor and effort. The choice of the former Governor

of New York to guide the work of the State Department was considered a particularly fortunate one.

The appointment of the former Food Administrator likewise struck a popular chord and the feeling was that the acquisition of Mr. Hoover meant much more strength for the Cabinet. The designation of Mr. Mellon was also well received, as well as that of Mr. Hays, former Republican national chairman, to be Postmaster-General. It was felt that the administrative abilities of the Indianian would come in handy at reorganizing the postal service after several years of Burlesonism.

Mr. Harding made it clear from the beginning that he proposed to let his department heads run their own branches of the Government. The President-elect announced that he would in return hold them strictly to account for what was done under their jurisdiction .

This policy, however, did not mean that there would be little co-operation between the White House and the departments. The contrary proved to be true. On the various important questions involving different branches of the Government there were conferences ordered which meant a high degree of co-ordination.

EARLY DAYS OF ADMINISTRATION

The new President got into the routine of his new task in short order. Facing the herculean problems that he did, Mr. Harding began slowly, but with gathering force.

The Administration was particularly careful not to make outlandish promises and what was done was builded on a firm foundation. There was something of a squabble over the Columbian treaty, but the matter was passed by the Senate in accordance with the Administration programme.

The first international incident calling for a decision came in the form of a note to the Soviet Republic of Russia which made a new bid for resumption of trade relations with the United States. Reports from Russia said that the Lenine-Trotsky regime

was mending its ways with a view to general recognition and the world was anxious to ascertain the attitude of the new administration.

This attitude was given in no uncertain terms when Secretary of State Hughes dispatched a note declaring in substance that the United States would not unbend until it was satisfied beyond all doubt that Russia was actually reforming. Aside from the usual agitation of radicals here the note to the Soviets met widespread approval and the reactions were entirely in support of the administration.

In his reply to the Soviet communication at this time Secretary Hughes laid especial stress on private property rights. The American government took the position that until such rights were fully recognized by the Russian regime there could be no possibility of recognition.

Following close on the heels of this incident came the diplomatic exchanges regarding the mandate of the Island of Yap in the Pacific. The council of the League of Nations awarded this mandate to Japan. The Wilson administration began the protest against this and the Harding administration took even a stronger position on the matter.

CHAPTER IX.

IN THE WHITE HOUSE

A Spirit of Friendliness—Reopening the White House Gates—Close Contact with the People—The Hardings “Just Plain Folks”—Relations with the Daily Press—Frequent Conferences with Correspondents—Appointment to Public Office—The President’s Fearlessness—How He “Made Good”—His Hatred of War and Achievements for Peace.

President Harding brought to the White House a spirit of friendliness and close association with the American people that but few, if any, of his predecessors equalled. In putting into actual practice his great desire to be the people’s President, ready at all times to be met and to meet people, and always according them the heartiest welcome, President Harding was constantly supported by Mrs. Harding, whose first official act, as all Washington well remembers, was to suggest that the massive gates of the White House grounds should be immediately opened and left so as a mark of welcome to all.

During the war the White House grounds were closed to all visitors, and a spirit of Presidential aloofness was apparent. At the outset of the Harding regime the word went forward from President Harding that he and Mrs. Harding were “just plain folks” and as such they desired to be regarded. The gates have never since been closed, and daily the scores of sightseers to the White House have not been refused a sight of their President.

This desire on the part of Mr. Harding to be close to the people has been the occasion for many references in the public press.

A writer in "The Washington Star" had this to say of this aspect of Mr. Harding's democracy:

"Never has there been a President in the White House who came in closer contact with the people than President Harding. He has met them personally by the thousands and has reached them through his friendly and constructive conferences with newspaper correspondents twice a week.

"No executive ever maintained such direct relations with the daily press of the country as Mr. Harding has continuously done. It may be said that he has been animated not by a spirit of self-aggrandizement, but by a sincere desire to keep the press, as the advisers of the people, correctly informed upon affairs of state.

"In the opinion of newspaper men he has been courageous, intensely patriotic, kindly, patient, industrious to the point of endangering his physical well-being, and notably efficient."

President Harding not long ago told a gathering of friends that when he went out of office he wanted to have one justifiable cause for satisfaction—the record of having made good appointments to public office. He regarded the wise selection of appointees as one of the most important features of the executive office and its power and its responsibility to the people.

In particular was he solicitous of the Supreme Court of the United States. In the appointment of Chief Justice Taft and Associate Justices Sutherland, Butler and Sanford, it is recognized by the bar of the court and the legal profession generally that the President lived up to his desire to select men of the highest character, ability and rectitude, and that during his life he was entirely justified in feeling a well founded sense of gratification.

In a review of the first two years of President Harding's Administration, Charles D. Hilles, formerly chairman of the Republican National Committee and a keen observer, made this reference to Mr. Harding's excellent judgment in appointments:

"The President laid the foundation by selecting men of exceptional ability for his Cabinet. His Cabinet officers are his advisers. He trusts them and they trust him. There is no Presidential aloofness from the opinions of men who know their de- has been restored to the place it was intended to occupy—a place partments better than any one else can know them. The Cabinet from which it fell in a time of recent memory.

"Not the least of the benefits conferred upon the country by President Harding is to be found in the character and ability of those he had selected as Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. Probably no one in the nation is more respected as a jurist and as a man than Chief Justice Taft; and in his appointment of such associates as Justices Sutherland, Butler and Sanford, solely on the ground of their exalted fitness for their great tasks, the President has augmented the confidence of the people in the court as well as in his own judgment. Not for a long time, if ever, has the general tone of the court been higher.

Mr. Hilles also described the fearlessness with which Mr. Harding rejected legislation that he regarded as unwise. "President Harding," Mr. Hilles wrote, "vetoed the measure popularly known as the bonus bill. It was a brave act; it was an act unpopular in a sense, but dictated by a desire to serve the best interests of the country. 'The former soldiers must know,' said the President, 'that nations can only survive where taxation is restrained from the limits of oppression, where the public treasury is locked against class legislation, but ever open to public necessity and prepared to meet all essential obligations.'

"Another compensation measure, commonly known as the Bursum bill, was courageously vetoed by the President. It would have added \$108,000,000 annually to the pensions of veterans of the Civil War and to widows. The bill extended the marriage period for the veterans to 1915, and made the widow a beneficiary to the extent of \$50 a month for life. The President could not

recognize any public obligation to pension women who now, nearly sixty years after the Civil War, become the wives of veterans of that war."

Finally, Mr. Hilles summed up the first two years of Mr. Harding's occupancy of the White House as follows:

"President Harding has made good. We realize this readily when we recall the saturnalia of extravagance and waste of the years before his inauguration and the broken promises to reduce the cost of living and keep us out of war. The President is fearless in his determination to stand by what he believes to be right. He does not live in the atmosphere of catchy phrases. But he patiently and goodnatureedly and yet resolutely seeks his ends, which are for the public good. As a result, at the end of two years we have not a loud tooting of horns on his part, but a long list of solid accomplishments and a growing appreciation of and confidence in him by his countrymen."

To Mr. Harding war had always been abhorrent. The same spirit of opposition to armed conflict which resulted in the President's advocacy of America's adhesion to the International Court of Justice prompted Mr. Harding to take steps in the direction of improved foreign relations between the United States and other powers.

In his vigorous and thoroughly American foreign policy, Mr. Harding reaped one of the greatest achievements of his Administration. After three years of technical warfare continued by his predecessor, President Harding made peace with Germany. In the conference of nations which he called in 1921, seven treaties of inestimable value to the United States and other signatory powers were negotiated. This gathering of representatives of the principal nations of the world in Washington, at President Harding's invitation, brought about the termination of the agreement between Great Britain and Japan effective since 1911. By the "four-power treaty," as it was called, one of the chief difficulties

in the way of an understanding concerning matters in the Pacific was removed, and in the "five-power treaty" the conference brought about a limitation of naval armament by which the United States shares with Great Britain the control of the seas, through equality of warship construction.

Not only were the peoples of the agreeing nations relieved from immense expenditures for war vessels, but the day of competitive building of implements of war was apparently terminated. So thoroughly general was the American approval of the treaties negotiated at the Harding conference that within forty-seven days all agreements thus written and signed at Washington were ratified by the United States Senate.

President Harding's last visit to New York, on April 24, 1923, was a notable personal triumph, marking the occasion when he urged the adherence of the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice, while, at the same time, he said in his address to members of the Associated Press, his Administration would not enter the League of Nations "by the side door, the back door, or the cellar door."

Incidentally, the President visited the new plant of The New York Tribune and made up the editorial page of the paper for Wednesday, April 25.

The President and members of his party also attended the Yankee-Washington ball game at the new Yankee Stadium.

Many of the things the President said in his address at the Associated Press luncheon on April 24 he afterward elaborated in his speeches on the trip to the Pacific Coast.

"Perhaps," said he, "the court is not all that some advocates of the world plan would have it, but it is in a large measure the fulfillment of an aspiration we long have boasted. So I thought, and still think, we ought to be a party to the agreement, assume our part in its maintenance and give to it the benefit of such influence as our size and wealth and ideals may prove to be.

"I have indulged the dream—nay, a justified hope—that out of the encouraged and sustained court might come the fulfillment of larger aspiration. In the proof of its utility and a spirit of concord among nations might come that voluntary conference of nations out of which could be expected a clarified and codified international law to further assure peace under the law and bring nations that understanding which is ever the first and best guarantor of peace.

"I would not have it thought that I hold this question paramount to all others confronting our government. I do not hold it a menace to the unity of any political party. It is not to be classed as a party question, but if any party repeatedly advocating a world court is to be rended by the suggestion of an effort to perform in accordance with its pledges it needs a new appraisal of its assets."

The utterance which aroused the greatest interest and enthusiasm was what he said about the United States keeping clear of the League of Nations.

"In compliance with its pledges," said the President, "the new Administration which came into power in March, 1921, definitely and decisively put aside all thought of the United States entering the League of Nations. It doesn't propose to enter now by the side door, the back door or the cellar door."

After subsidence of the applause the President continued:

"I have no unseemly comment to offer on the league. If it is serving the Old World, more power to it! But it is not for us. The Senate has so declared, the Executive has so declared, the people have so declared. Nothing could be more decisively stamped with finality."

* * *

When President Harding took office administration at Washington had broken down. President Wilson had been critically

ill for months. The peace treaty which he had negotiated had failed of ratification. The relations of the United States with its European allies and with its former enemies had become tied into a hopeless knot. The country no longer participated in the peace settlements. It had drifted aside and become a merely passive observer.

In the domestic field also the Administration had been unable to face the task of war liquidation. Reduction of war expenses was urgent. The Secretary of the Treasury told Congress that enormous deficits were impending and that the problem of retiring the floating debt and refunding the government's short-term loans filled him with despair. Yet the Secretary of War kept clamoring for a peace army of 600,000 men and the Secretary of the Navy was demanding huge appropriations for new construction. They did not want to see war taxation reduced and sought to maintain Federal expenditure at a level of six billions a year. The estimates for the fiscal year 1920-'21—the last Wilson year—totaled \$6,334,312,929. Fortunately, Congress was able to defeat the designs of the Administration's gorgeous spenders. It cut the estimates for 1920-'21 \$1,474,422,602—to \$4,859,890,327.

In the Senate Mr. Harding had been a close-range witness of the Administration's failures in both the domestic and the foreign field. His reaction to the situation was natural. He sensed the vital need of the situation, which was to find a way out of the blind alley into which his predecessor had led the country. It was, first, to restore peace in the most practicable way and to bring the United States again into definite touch with world affairs, and, next, to liquidate war liabilities within our own borders. In his speech accepting the Presidential nomination Mr. Harding revived the word "normalcy." It was to be the key-word of his executive policy.

This policy had many sides, because the war had dislocated so many normal relations. The effort to recover, to deflate, to re-

store and to build afresh where restoration was impossible ran along two sets of parallel lines—international and domestic, political and economic. Peace was made separately with Germany, Austria and Hungary. But at the same time the United States under these peace treaties, preserved the rights and privileges which belonged to it under the armistice and under the treaties with Germany, Austria and Hungary, which the Administration signed but the Senate did not ratify.

A basis on which to resume association with the Allies was thus wisely established; for the Allies had ignored the United States in dividing sums received from Germany for the support of the Rhineland occupation armies, and in the distribution of mandates over former German overseas possessions continued to deny this country's concern even as a silent partner. Later, in the Yap settlement with Japan, our State Department obtained full recognition of the American claim that the United States was entitled to be consulted as to any disposition or use of mandate territory which it held to be unfriendly or detrimental to its interests. Similarly, patient negotiation obtained from the Allies an agreement pledging payment through the Reparation Commission of what Germany owes us on the Rhineland occupation account.

Having extricated the country from the overseas *cul-de-sac*, Mr. Harding emphasized the renewal of world contacts by calling the naval armament limitation and Pacific conference. This gathering made a far more substantial contribution to world peace and co-operation than the Paris conference did. It brought about a naval building truce and a limitation of capital ship strength. It dissolved the Anglo-Japanese alliance and replaced it with a four-power Pacific concert. It revived the doctrine of the "open door" for China and did what could be done to secure China's independence and territorial integrity and to breathe vitality into the conception of Chinese sovereignty.

An old boundary quarrel between Panama and Costa Rica was

quickly adjusted, and the bitter feud of forty years between Chile and Peru over Tacna and Arica nears an end by American mediation. The Central American republics were induced to meet in Washington and sign agreements providing for non-aggression, arbitration and political co-operation. The arbitrary and illegal military occupation of the Dominican Republic was terminated.

Here is a record of brilliant and beneficent re-entry into world affairs, following a barren period of isolation.

In domestic matters the accomplishment was equally notable. The budget system was at last put in operation. With its aid and with the persistent support of the President the scale of Federal expenditure was cut in half. The estimates of Mr. Wilson's Administration for 1920-'21 were \$6,334,312,929. The estimates of Mr. Harding's Administration for 1923-'24 were about \$3,000,000,000. Taxation was materially reduced. The public debt has been rapidly lowered and the short-loan funding problems have been satisfactorily solved. The Government has overcome war deflation to a remarkable extent—far more than most of our industries have overcome it.

That is because Mr. Harding always stood like a rock against temporizing with extravagance. When so many politicians in Washington wanted to make capital out of a soldiers' bonus he denied the political expediency of the proposed investment. The House and the Senate were willing to put a huge new burden on the Treasury, but were unwilling to impose new taxes out of which to meet that burden. Mr. Harding hewed to the line of business sagacity and political honesty. By his veto of the bonus act he saved the Treasury from exhaustion and the country from a vicious back-wash of inflation.

In all directions Mr. Harding's régime was healing, recuperative, and reconstructive. The President was an ideal leader for the needs of the future. Making war is spectacular and swift; no political or economic restraints have to be submitted to; but

recovery from the effects of war requires steadier and more patient statesmanship. Fate cast President Harding for an exceedingly difficult and ungracious rôle; but he rose superior to fate in the serene optimism and the political skill with which he turned arduous responsibilities into fruitful opportunities. His years in the Presidency mark one of the golden periods of that office.

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It was a most interesting coincidence that the same editions of the newspapers which contained the news of President Harding's death conveyed also the announcement, made by Judge Gary, that the iron and steel industry would immediately begin the elimination of the twelve-hour day and proceed with it as rapidly as the supply of labor would permit. For this was one of the achievements upon which President Harding's heart was set and to which he gave some of his most earnest endeavors just before he set out upon the tour which proved to be his last.

Judge Gary himself has told the story. Early in 1922 President Harding took the initiative in urging the heads of the iron and steel industry to study carefully the question of establishing an eight hour day. They did so, and in the spring of 1923 unanimously expressed the opinion that the twelve-hour day was not necessarily injurious in any way to the workmen, and that the shortage of labor made it impossible to shorten the day without serious curtailment of needed production; therefore they were opposed to any immediate attempt to make the change which President Harding desired.

This was unsatisfactory to the President, who expressed himself as "keenly disappointed" and who renewed his urging that action toward an eight-hour day be taken at an early date. He was convinced that such a change was highly desirable for the welfare of the men, and he had faith to believe that a thing that was so much needed could in some way be accomplished. Some

of his last acts before setting out on his continental tour were to write to Judge Gary, urging early action. His last appeal was made on June 18, 1923, and nine days later the directors of the Iron and Steel Institute acceded to his request, pledging themselves to exert every effort to abolish totally the twelve-hour day at the earliest practicable time. To that Judge Gary on August 2 added that the elimination of the twelve-hour day would "now" begin. And "now" meant now, for the new eight-hour day was inaugurated in the mills of the United States Steel Corporation on Monday, August 13, eleven days after Mr. Harding's death.

Such an achievement must be largely credited to the initiative and the persistence of Warren G. Harding, and will be not the least of his legacies of good to the nation that he so greatly served.

WASHINGTON LOVED THE HARDINGS

Few if any occupants of the White House have endeared themselves to the residents of the national capital and to the constant stream of visitors from all over the country as did the President and Mrs. Harding. The exigencies of the World War and the physical condition of former President Wilson had practically closed the White House to visitors prior to that time.

But, as we have already seen, with the inauguration of President Harding the atmosphere around the Executive Mansion changed. The massive iron gates which had been closed and padlocked during the second term of Mr. Wilson were once more thrown open and the grounds and certain portions of the White House were once more the property of the American public.

As a hand-shaker President Harding excelled all records heretofore set by his predecessors, even President Roosevelt. At 1 o'clock every day, unless some important official business interfered, a crowd of visitors and sightseers assembled outside the President's executive offices waiting turns to grasp his hand and wish him well. And he never seemed to tire of this task, although the old attaches at the White House, including Pat McKenna,

doorkeeper, who came to the White House with President Roosevelt, marveled at the energy and enthusiasm displayed by President Harding during these daily receptions.

Mrs. Harding, too, took a deep interest in things and persons in and around the White House. Despite the fact that she was in poor health and her condition was regarded as critical at one time, she never lost courage, and her single aim and ambition centered around her husband and those with whom he came in contact.

Mrs. Harding gave orders to those in charge of the Executive offices and grounds that the American public was entitled to be treated as guests of the nation whenever in Washington, and no one, no matter how lowly, should be refused admittance to the White House grounds.

To Washington baseball fans President Harding will always be remembered as an ardent follower and booster of the national game. Seated in the Presidential box, a soft felt hat pulled down over his eyes, he would quietly watch the game with all the keen enjoyment of the most devoted followers of the sport. His toss-out on the opening-day was an annual subject for the camera men, and the appearance of pictures of his upraised arm was a signal for the whole nation to "play ball."

A touching tribute was paid to the beloved President by the camera men stationed at the White House when they learned of his death.

"The best photo sport yet," was what they said of him. And during his more than two years' occupancy of the White House it was seldom if ever that President Harding refused to pose for the stills and movies. He was photographed with bootblacks, actors, diplomats, Kings, Queens, and last but not least, with his favorite dog, Laddie Boy. The appearance of Laddie in the President's workroom was always a signal that luncheon at the White House was about ready, and it was time for the Executive to lay down his cares of State and enjoy a slight repast.



Photo Copyright U. & U.
President Harding (Holding Child) and Mrs. Harding Among the Farmers at Hutchinson, Kansas, on Their Trip Across Country in June, 1923.



Photo Copyright U. & U.
 Above—President Harding at Pocatello, Idaho, Inspecting Potato Crop in the
 Irrigation District, July, 1923.
 Below—The President Fordng a Stream, Cowboy Fashion, in Zion National Park,
 Utah, on His way to the Coast.



Photo Copyright U. & U.
 Above—President and Mrs. Harding at Cheyenne, Wyo., Talking to Engineer of Union Pacific Train, on Their Trip to Alaska.
 Below—President Harding Equipped for a Ride Up Zion Canyon, Utah, with Secretary Work, Secretary Wallace, Governor Mabey of Utah, and Senator Smoot.



The Presidential Party Aboard the U. S. S. Henderson, July 25, 1923, on the Return from Alaska. President and Mrs. Harding Are Seated, and the Party Includes Brig.-Gen. Sawyer, the White House Physician; Speaker Gillette, Secretary Hoover, Secretary Work, Secretary Wallace, and George Christian, Jr., Secretary to the President.

P. & A. Photo

ATTITUDE TOWARD MR. WILSON

President Harding's friendly and considerate attitude toward his predecessor, Woodrow Wilson, was the subject of frequent comment in Washington, and the friendliness was reciprocated. On the morning after Mr. Harding's death, former President Wilson sent a message of condolence to Mrs. Harding at San Francisco, in which he said:

"Allow me to express my profound sympathy. I deplore with all my heart the loss which the nation has sustained."

Mr. and Mrs. Woodrow Wilson stopped at the White House late that day and left their cards. A year before, during Mrs. Harding's illness, they paid a similar visit to the Executive Mansion to leave cards of sympathy.

On March 4, 1921, Warren Harding actually helped lift Woodrow Wilson down the steps of the White House portico and into the carriage which took both to the inaugural ceremonies at the Capitol which made one President Harding and other plain Mr. Wilson.

No one of the thousands who saw the robust figure beside the waxen, drawn, and stooped man ever dreamed that the latter would live to write a message of condolence on the death of the former.

Mr. Harding's gentle consideration of his stricken predecessor on that notable day excited the admiration of the thousands who saw it and won the warm respect of Mr. Wilson, for when the crowd along Pennsylvania Avenue cheered and applauded the healthy and robust incoming President he silenced them with a deprecating gesture, signifying consideration and sympathy for the stricken, almost pathetic figure beside him. At the Capitol during the inauguration his considerate attention to the outgoing President was most marked, and it did not stop there, but took the following practical form:

Rear Admiral Carey T. Grayson had been President Wilson's physician eight years, as he had been physician to William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt before him. He knew Mr. Wilson's case as probably no other physician could, and as time developed, snatched him from the grave. Mr. Harding brought to Washington, Dr. Sawyer, his own physician of years' acquaintance, who knew equally well the complicated and long-standing illness of Mrs. Harding. Dr. Grayson's White House detail ended and he was subject to assignment elsewhere.

But without a request or suggestion from anybody, and without any one knowing of it, President Harding personally gave an order to the Navy Department that Dr. Grayson was to be assigned to duty in Washington, where his services would be available to Mr. Wilson, and that in no circumstances was he to be ordered elsewhere without the President's consent.

It is said that Woodrow Wilson got his first knowledge of Mr. Harding's action in this respect after the latter's death.

CHAPTER X.

MRS. HARDING AS A HELPMATE

A Wife of Exceptional Character and Capacity—Of Great Assistance to Mr. Harding Throughout His Career—Her Help in Building Up the Marion Star—As a Senator's Wife—Life in the White House—Her Serious Illness—Devotion to the President When He Was Stricken—Her Courage and Fortitude—The Last Farewell.

Warren Harding's wedding, which occurred in his early life, was the culmination of a pretty romance. Miss Florence Kling was the daughter of Amos H. Kling, one of the foremost and richest business men of Marion. It is related that when she was born her father was disappointed because she was not a boy, and consoled himself by bringing her up more as a boy than a girl. She was fond of horses, dogs and outdoor life, and took much interest in her father's business. In her early teens, when she had to leave school on account of threatened loss of eyesight, she became her father's chief director and friend. She rode horseback with "dad," traveled about with him and made up to him in every way she could the loss of her mother's companionship, Mrs. Kling having been more or less an invalid.

Miss Kling was popular and attractive and was much sought in society and by marriageable young men. Naturally, her parents were ambitious for her to make the brilliant match which she deserved. But she had notions of her own on the subject, and made up her mind that she herself was to be the judge of her future husband's worth. One evening at a social gathering she

met one who she thought would measure up to the standard; a young newspaper man who had moved from Caledonia to Marion, working first on "The Mirror" and later acquiring a controlling interest in "The Daily Star." But her father did not agree with her. Young Mr. Harding was not yet sufficiently successful with the paper.

By dint of hard work, however, the young man kept "The Star" shining and in the ascendant, and after a weary while was making enough money out of it to warrant him in asking Miss Kling to become his wife without longer waiting; to which her reply was "Yes." They still tell the story in Marion of how she walked out the front door of her father's house, knowing him well enough to realize that it would thereafter be closed against her. She and the young editor were married on July 8, 1891, and started their married life in a new house he had built and which she helped him to furnish. At this humble beginning some of the bride's rich friends raised supercilious eyebrows. But she simply made up her mind all the more firmly that she was right and that she would one day show them all what sort of man she had married. And she did.

An early personal recollection of Mrs. Harding visualizes a slender woman of marked vitality and spontaneous laughter walking down East Center Street in Marion on the way to the "Star" office, where she was a real helpmate to her husband. At that time neighbors say the young couple often passed her father's house, but Amos Kling was not yet ready to forgive his daughter for marrying against his wishes.

The Harding partnership prospered and the Star began to pay dividends and was regarded as an enviable piece of property. During those early days of struggle Mrs. Harding gave little attention to the social diversions of the town, although she might at any time have assumed leadership both from birthright and personal qualifications. Later, however, when fortune continued

to smile on the young couple her hospitality acquired a wide reputation, and invitations to her home were eagerly sought. People in Marion often recall that on the evening of one of her informal receptions her guests to be would drive past the "Star" office and see her marshaling her newsboys into line for the day's deliveries.

All through President Harding's career as a struggling newspaper owner in Marion, as Lieutenant-Governor of Ohio, as Senator, and finally as President of the United States, there prevailed between him and Mrs. Harding a sympathetic interdependence which was one of the marked attributes of the pair.

From the day of their marriage in 1891, Mrs. Harding became an active partner of her husband, sharing with him all the burdens and all the joys, always happy in her helpfulness. When Mr. Harding bought into The Marion Star which was then a struggling newspaper, printed virtually on job presses, Mrs. Harding became its business manager, general factotum in the circulation department, and an energetic booster of the sheet. For fourteen years Mrs. Harding relieved her husband of many of the tasks which beset a small town editor.

The daughter of Amos Kling, Marion's richest man, was endowed with the keenest desire to make the Harding newspaper succeed, and, utilizing the great abundance of common sense and good business judgment that the President always admired, she became an important personage in the establishment.

In order that Editor Harding could devote all his time to his editorial duties, Mrs. Harding took direct charge of the circulation department, served in the business office, and responded to the calls over the counter and the telephone orders which were received.

She was particularly valuable to her husband in preserving the carrier organization, and many amusing incidents of her trials with the mischievous carrier boys are told of her. Among The Marion Star carriers was one youth of great mischievousness.

One day he rigged up the press so that when Mrs. Harding's hand came in contact with it a shock resulted. She had all the boys "on the carpet" and finally extracted an admission from the youthful electrician, who was forthwith spanked. Later the mother of the youth visited Mrs. Harding and thanked her for the chastisement, which, she said, her son had more than earned.

The whole story of the life of the Hardings is graphically illustrated by this close association of Mrs. Harding with her husband during the struggling days of "The Marion Star." When he became active in local politics in Ohio Mrs. Harding entered into the contests with the same earnestness as her husband, constantly giving him the benefit of her counsel and always being a big winner of votes.

When Mr. Harding became Senator Mrs. Harding became socially active in the senatorial set, and like the wives of all members of Congress, maintained a strong influence over her husband. Mrs. Harding, however, vigorously opposed the employment of this influence where a vote in the Senate was involved. Always operating on the theory that Mr. Harding was Senator, and not she, she never once sought to influence his judgment in any measure of national importance.

After the Republican nomination of 1920, when Mr. Harding was declared the candidate for President, Mrs. Harding's helpfulness increased with the importance of the honor bestowed upon her husband. At Marion, during the "front porch" campaign, Mrs. Harding was constantly active, helping the Senator with his mail and assisting in the welcoming of friends, many thousands of whom made pilgrimages to Marion to see the candidate.

Newspaper men who were assigned to Marion tell of the patience and enthusiasm that Mrs. Harding showed in extending a welcome to visitors. Many mornings before breakfast, they said, she was out on the front lawn conversing with visitors, and many times after dark she relieved the candidate, fatigued from the

strenuous days he was engaged in, by shaking hands with late arrivals who came to the Harding home.

To lessen the burden from the Senator's shoulders during the campaign days, Mrs. Harding added to her own, but it was done with that same cheerful spirit of helpfulness that characterized all the days of their married life.

Going to the White House in March, 1921, it was Mrs. Harding who was responsible for the first official act of the Harding Administration—the opening of the gates of the White House grounds so that the American people might have easy access to the home of their President. This one act was in line with the desires of both the President and his devoted wife—to be just “plain folk” whom anybody could meet.

Installed as the First Lady of the Land, Mrs. Harding continued to share with the President the tasks that fell to the Executive. A gracious hostess, Mrs. Harding renewed the social life of the White House, which had been abandoned because of the illness of President Wilson. Her first big social opportunity came in assisting the President in three garden parties during the first summer of the Administration. Again at the New Year the series of White House receptions was resumed, and Mrs. Harding, standing beside her husband, went through the ordeal of welcoming the many guests.

At state dinners and similar official functions Mrs. Harding was the constant assistant of the President, and on many occasions responded alone to the social demands on the White House occupants, so that her husband might devote his energies to purely state affairs.

So energetic a helpmate to the President was Mrs. Harding that in the autumn of 1922 she fell victim of a protracted illness, which was largely due to the fatigue and exertion which her social demands entailed. Grave anxiety was caused the President by this serious illness of his wife, whose unremitting attention to

her duties as mistress of the White House caused a return of an ailment with which she had been afflicted before. For some time she lay in a critical state, and her ultimate recovery was slow. The President was unremitting in his affectionate personal attendance upon her, and this, added to the exceptionally heavy and trying cares of state, told perceptibly upon his vitality.

Early in the summer of 1923, however, both he and Mrs. Harding seemed to be in excellent health when they visited New York. Their tour across the continent and to Alaska—the first visit ever made by a President to that territory—was planned with keen expectations of enjoyment, and save for a little overtaxing of Mrs. Harding's strength at times was carried out without mishap until their return to the United States.

A helpmate at home, Mrs. Harding likewise was the President's companion on the many trips that the Executive took. There was only one vacation in which Mrs. Harding did not figure. That was the camping party which Thomas A. Edison, Henry Ford, Harvey Firestone, and the President took into the Maryland hills. On all other occasions, whether it be official business that required Mr. Harding's presence, or pleasure jaunts, Mrs. Harding was a member of the party, to share with the President the tasks he always confronted to meeting the people and responding to the demands that the people make upon their President.

Once when Mr. Harding was discussing his life in the White House, he complained of one of the customs that tradition fastens on the place. "I never could feel otherwise than guilty when I am served first at meals, instead of Mrs. Harding," he said. Probably he weighed that custom as carefully as any problem of statecraft before he finally became reconciled to it, if he ever did.

His respect for the office he held was tremendous, but there must have been many times when he railed at the limitations it placed on his own activities, and on the opportunities for him to talk things over with his wife. When Mrs. Harding was con-

valescing from her serious illness in the late fall of 1922 she spoke of this, saying:

"In one way this illness has been a blessing. We have had more time with each other than at any period since the beginning of the campaign. Before I had to go to bed there was not a minute of the day that either of us was free. There was never a meal when we were alone.

"I can tell you it was a treat to be able to take advantage of my condition and sit up stairs here in the evening and talk to my husband."

Neither of them ever appeared to be thoroughly comfortable when they were separated from each other by much distance. They were full partners in the enterprise that brought them into the White House. They relied on each other and continued to be interested in each other. Harry M. Daugherty, the Attorney-General, was as much the friend of Florence Harding as he was of Warren Harding. That was one of the noteworthy things about them: their faculty was developing strong friendships for the same people—and the same dogs.

"I haven't any ambitions for myself," Mrs. Harding confided to a friend on one occasion. "I'm perfectly content to trail along with Warren Harding. He has the warmest human sympathy of any man I've ever known and if this country doesn't appreciate him, well"—she closed her lips tightly and it seemed a dire threat for the country.

"Those newsboys down at the Star office were always just as crazy about him as his dogs were. You know I was at the Star for fourteen years.

"Mr. Harding was taken ill not long after we were married, and then the circulation manager quit. I had always told Warren that he wasn't getting the money out of his circulation that he should get. The papers were just sold over the counter in the business office. There was no delivery.

"I went down there intending to help out for a few days, and I stayed fourteen years. I started the carrier system and the boys we had there have surely grown up to be splendid men. There was one red-headed youngster that we took an especial fancy to. That was Orrie Baldinger. When Mr. Harding went to Columbus to the State Senate we took Orrie with us and Mr. Harding had him make a page. Those boys got \$5 a day during the sessions. Orrie's father was dead, and his mother had to make her own way. He sent her his wages. She saved them for him, and when he was a little older sent him to Staunton, the Virginia military academy. He had a natural bent for military things."

That redheaded youngster became Major Baldinger, U. S. A., an officer of the Air Service, later a White House aid, and accompanied them on their journey to Alaska.

When the Hardings returned to Marion in July, 1922, after they had been in the White House a few months more than a year, Major Baldinger was with them. They returned to town late one night and comparatively few had seen them prior to their appearance the following day at the fair grounds. The grand stand was a solid, sweltering mass of humanity. A section of the racetrack had been roped off.

Around at the first quarter the fence had been taken down and along about 2 o'clock in the afternoon the band was almost worn out from its efforts to keep the crowd quiet. Motor cars containing old Doctor Harding, the President's father; General Sawyer (who will never be other than Doc Sawyer in Marion); George B. Christian, Jr., secretary to the President, and other members of the party had been cheered with what seemed to be tophole steam, and then a White House automobile swung through the opening in the fence.

There were the President and the President's wife. Except for the silk hat worn by Mr. Harding, the crowd would have

admitted they were as natural as life. They whooped and yelled in vain efforts to express their pride in this couple until it was asking too much to expect more noise from them, but when they saw sitting opposite to the President a glittering figure in blue and gold, whose white-gloved hands were primly folded on the hilt of a shining saber and whom they recognized as the redheaded former newsboy of The Marion Star, their enthusiasm became hysterical. They had a picture of democracy that the rest of the world seldom sees. It had been as carefully prepared for them as one of those sound editorials that the editor of The Marion Star used to write.

A less discerning man than Warren Harding might have thought it wise to appear before his home folks that afternoon in simple fashion, perhaps with his trousers almost as baggy as they used to be before a troupe of moving picture photographers began to earn a living stalking him. But he had edited a paper for them too many years not to know what they expected, and he gave them a picture of the President of the United States that satisfied their imaginations and revealed something of the magic of the office. They were delighted, but when they had their fill of the picture he began to talk to them, and they were soon assured that the President was no whit different than the man who had grown up among them—and his wife, whom some of them had known as Florence Kling, had not changed either.

* * *

The sad story of the President's illness and death in San Francisco on his return from the Alaska trip is told elsewhere in this volume. Throughout the trying days of anxiety and grief, Mrs. Harding was unremitting in her attendance upon her husband. After the end came, facing her ordeal with courage and fortitude that were truly remarkable, Mrs. Harding took personal charge of many of the details incident to the long train journey back to the capital with the body of the Chief Executive.

An official statement from Dr. C. E. Sawyer on the morning after the President died, set at rest rumors of collapse on the part of Mrs. Harding and told of her brave rally. "I regret that the statement has been printed in early editions of the papers that Mrs. Harding collapsed after the death of the President," said Dr. Sawyer. "There was no collapse, no hysteria. Just a brave rally to face her sorrows and duties devolving upon her at this hour. I give this statement in order that her many friends may not be unduly alarmed as to her condition."

All through the week that followed, as the funeral train traversed the Continent, and the remains of the honored dead were taken in turn to the White House, to the Capitol at Washington, and finally to Marion, Ohio, Mrs. Harding bore up bravely and continued calm in her great grief.

Her democratic disposition and attachment to old friends were demonstrated in San Francisco, during the President's illness at the Palace Hotel, when she expressed disapproval of the idea of making public the messages of sympathy which poured into the Presidential suite from all quarters of the globe. "Those we probably value as much as any of them—from our old friends in Marion and other parts of Ohio," she said, "might not receive the attention that others coming from the more prominent people would receive."

In her retirement as the widow of a beloved President, and for her own sake as a devoted wife and true helpmate, Mrs. Harding has the respect and love of all America.

CHAPTER XI.

RECORD IN THE PRESIDENCY

Faced by Great Problems in Taking Office—All International Affairs Unbalanced—Reconstruction Only Just Begun at Home—Business Depressed and Agriculture Prostrate—Unemployment General—Policies That Brought About a Return of Prosperity—Skillful Handling of Foreign Affairs.

Elected to the Presidency on his fifty-fifth birthday, November 2, 1920, President Harding brought to his high office a wide experience in politics and the fruits of a rather active career in the United States Senate.

He went into office, too, with the Nation almost unanimously behind him, elected by the greatest popular majority ever given a President, and having for his support and co-operation substantial majorities in both Houses of Congress. Thus auspiciously did he begin the task of bringing the country out of the more or less chaotic state in which the war and its immediate aftermath had placed it.

Mr. Harding brought to the Presidency an infinite patience and kindness in dealing with public questions and men, which enabled him to handle the problems of government without the stress and worry which had handicapped many of his predecessors.

Whatever else historians may say of him, there probably will be little dispute that few chief executives came to office in peace time facing problems more complex in their nature or greater in number. All international affairs were unbalanced as never

before, with many principal settlements of the great war still to be effectuated. At home the work of reconstruction had only just begun, with business depressed, agriculture prostrate and unemployment general.

How Mr. Harding measured up to the task before him must be left to the future historian, but his friends said that coming to the Presidency as he did with an open mind, a desire for counsel, and an intimate knowledge of the processes of government acquired in his services in the Senate, he was the type of man needed for the job at such a time.

Preaching upon every occasion the doctrine of Americanism, he set his face resolutely against "entangling alliances." While thus adhering to what he was pleased to term the principles of the founding fathers, he nevertheless lent the moral assistance of the Government in the efforts to bind up the wounds of the world.

That influence was once declared by him to be not inconsiderable, and so America under his guidance had a part, silent though it was in the main, in effecting the settlements of many vexing world questions. Its chief contribution was the Washington arms conference, at which the principal powers covenanted to limit the size of their navies and thus lift from tax-weary peoples the burden of maintaining the race for naval supremacy.

Along with the proffer of counsel in effecting world settlements went an insistence that American rights be recognized. In polished phrase, but with a directness of expression that was not to be misconstrued, the world was given to understand from the very first of the Harding administration that the United States, freely respecting the rights of the other nations, asked for herself only that of which she was entitled in simple justice and that she could accept nothing less.

While in his dealings with Congress Mr. Harding preferred the role of counselor rather than dictator, he speedily removed any doubt that his gift of patience denoted any lack of purpose once

he had charted a course. Thus he told Congress that soldiers' bonus legislation either should carry the means of financing or be postponed, and when the legislators put aside his advice he promptly vetoed the bill they sent him.

His tenacity of purpose was further exemplified in his continual pounding for economy in public expenditures, and again in his insistence that Congress pass the merchant marine aid bill with a view of curtailing the continual drain which the operation of the war-built commercial fleet had become upon the Treasury. His greatest single effort in the field of domestic legislation was in behalf of this measure.

Not infrequently Mr. Harding was called upon to play the role of peacemaker in governmental affairs. He intervened in a dispute between Congress and the Treasury as to the form general tax revision was to take, and the program he approved was carried out in the main with a reduction of more than half a billion in the nation's tax burden.

Likewise, his counsel settled the long controversy between the House and the Senate on the question of American valuation in the tariff law. He proposed in its place a flexible tariff arrangement under which the Tariff Commission was given authority with his approval to increase or lower rates within prescribed limitations. Upon signing the bill the President declared it constituted the greatest tariff reform in American history.

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Six months before the Republican National Convention at Chicago which nominated Warren Gamaliel Harding, the better informed Republican politicians, attending a meeting of the National Committee at Washington, in December, 1919, began talking of the need of a "man of the McKinley type" in the White House. Not all had Harding in mind, but to many politicians and to much of the public Mr. Harding fitted that description, and in more ways than one.

The dead President, too, much more than his immediate predecessors, was representative of the country and its possibilities, a type of man seldom found in other lands. Country-raised and self-made, he was successful alike in business and in politics, genial, affable, and exceedingly kindly always, fond of the fun to be had out of life, a hard worker, conscientious, never too gravely serious.

But the problems that faced President Harding were far different from those that McKinley had to solve, and the matters of the greatest importance with which Harding had to deal were matters in which the United States, before the World War, had little part and little interest; exceedingly complicated international affairs and vast economic questions the like of which no President previously had been called on to take cognizance of. And as Presidents are judged by their administrations, the acts of Harding as President are of even more interest than the incidents of his rather colorful previous career.

In the field of international relations, the activities of the President until a few months before his death, were somewhat limited, the outstanding attention to these issues in the earlier days of his Administration being the armaments conference in Washington in the winter of 1921-1922. There followed the settlement of the vexing British debt question. Earlier in the Administration formal peace had been arranged, rather quietly, with Germany, with which technically, at least, the United States was still at war when Mr. Harding took office, inasmuch as the treaty of Versailles had not been ratified.

There had been, too, an interchange with Russia, which had made an offer to resume trade relations with this country. The offer was rather summarily rejected by Secretary of State Hughes. Propagandists had been exceedingly busy with this question and there was much speculation as to the attitude of the Administration. Secretary Hughes's statement that relations would not be

resumed until the new régime in Russia reformed and recognized the rights of private property, met with almost instant approval generally, here and abroad.

These activities of the Harding Administration now appear to have been more or less preliminary to the more important move made by Mr. Harding shortly before he started on his trip to the West and to Alaska. The League of Nations issue, it had been held, was effectively met in the electoral vote by which Mr. Harding was swept into office. But since the election there had been attempts to urge the necessity of American participation in larger foreign affairs. From the Administration no program looking to this end had been advanced.

Then, on April 24, 1923, addressing the members of the Associated Press at a luncheon at the Waldorf-Astoria, New York, President Harding proposed participation by the United States in the Permanent Court of International Justice. In this speech, which may be regarded as the most important utterance of Mr. Harding as President, the speaker declared:

"In compliance with its pledges the Administration definitely and decisively has put aside all thought of the United States entering the League of Nations. It doesn't propose to enter by the side door, the back door or the cellar door."

He described the Court and contended that the United States had a right to appeal to it for a decision, though not a member. Then he said:

"Perhaps the Court is not all that some advocates of the Court plan would have it, but it is in a large measure the fulfillment of an aspiration we long have boasted. So I thought and I still think, we ought to be a party to the agreement, assume our part of its maintenance, and give to it the benefit of such influence as our size and wealth and ideals may prove to be."

Repudiating in advance the suggestion that participation in the Court would be but a prelude to membership in the League, the

President contended that such action as he proposed would be in complete compliance with party platforms and pledges over a period of years.

It is safe to say that no other utterance of the President caused such widespread comment and discussion. Pro-Leaguers hailed it with delight, while those who had opposed entrance into the League condemned it, regardless of party affiliations.

In Europe opinion varied as to whether it would be possible for the Harding proposal to be carried through, it being held that if the United States entered the Court it would of necessity be a party to the League. Newspapers throughout the country took sides much as they did during the controversy over the League of Nations.

The controversy was still in progress when Mr. Harding started on his Alaskan trip, in the course of which he was scheduled to make several speeches in defense of his proposal. Meanwhile political opponents in and out of the Republican party had taken up the issue generally and there was every prospect of it being kept alive until the Presidential campaign of 1924.

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Aside from foreign relations, the Administration of President Harding had a number of knotty problems to solve, many of them new to the Government of the United States. The question of the soldiers' bonus aroused widespread discussion, necessarily involved, as it was, in the finances of the country generally. Congress passed the bill and Mr. Harding vetoed it. The House passed the bill over the veto, but in the Senate the proponents of the measure found it impossible to muster the necessary two-thirds vote to repass it.

On the score of taxation the Administration achieved marked distinction, the credit being divided somewhat between the President and Secretary of the Treasury Andrew W. Mellon, who, of course, was a Harding appointee. For such reforms and re-

ductions as were made the Harding Administration won approval, and for such changes as might have been made advantageously and were not made, Congress received the blame, inasmuch as Congress refused to take the President's advice.

In aiding the taxpayer by cutting down the expense of Government, the Administration of Mr. Harding achieved signal progress, the adoption of a budget, even though not perfected, being generally regarded as an unquestionable success. The plan of bureau reorganization which Mr. Harding desired carried through, has been regarded as a step in the right direction, though not as great a success as the budget.

The 67th Congress was called into special session April 11, 1921. On the following day, the President appeared before a joint meeting of the two Houses. One of his first recommendations was for the establishment of a budget system. This was passed by the Senate April 26, by the House May 5, and approved July 2. Brig.-Gen. Charles G. Dawes, of Evanston, Ill., was made director of the new Bureau of the Budget by appointment of President Harding. Director Dawes immediately set about adjusting the finances of the nation to a budget plan, the first move of the sort in the history of the nation.

In many respects, notwithstanding the political complexion of Congress, the Harding Administration was hindered in its efforts by the statesmen at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. Notable instances of this were the manipulation of farm legislation to nullify the President's relief plan, the discarding of the ship subsidy plan, and the emasculation of the taxation systems recommended by him. In few instances was Congress in wholehearted agreement with the President, and the filibuster over the ship subsidy bill interfered especially with the carrying through of some parts of the President's legislative plan.

Many men who knew Mr. Harding well saw him a weary man when he started on his trip to Alaska. Gone was much of the

buoyancy for which he had been noted among his closer friends. The cares of office had told on him; the task of being President under trying circumstances and in trying times, he had not found easy by any means. It was known, too, that he felt keenly some of the attacks that had been made upon him.

* * *

A newspaper man by training and accustomed to explore the minds and motives of those about him and bred in the traditions of middle-western Republicanism, Mr. Harding adopted a policy of co-operation and conference with his associates in executive work. He sought to achieve readjustment of government affairs by calling largely upon the opinions and advice of others. He endeavored to rearouse in the public mind a consciousness of nationalism and yet at the Washington conference, one of the most notable of his executive achievements, he directed, through his associates, an international policy of disarmament and a program for peace on which he later based his advocacy of a World Court.

On May 26, 1921, Mr. Harding sent an eloquent Memorial Day message to the American Legion, and on November 11, 1921, at the entombment of the remains of an unknown soldier of the World War at Arlington National Cemetery, he performed, with the utmost simplicity and naturalness one of those deeds which are inimitable and immortal. Standing before the great assemblage, on one of the most impressive occasions in the history of the nation, he made an eloquent address, at once patriotic and humanitarian in the broadest sense of the term, and at its close, for peroration, asked the people to unite with him in repeating the Lord's Prayer.

At the beginning of July in that year he went to Raritan, N. J., to pass Independence Day with his friend Senator Frelinghuysen, and while there affixed his signature to the joint resolution of

Congress, declaring the re-establishment of peace with Germany and Austria-Hungary.

Unemployment, which had grown to sinister proportions after the World War, was especially acute in 1921. It was roughly estimated that nearly 6,000,000 persons were without work and that with their dependents they represented a serious situation. President Harding arranged through Secretary Hoover of the Department of Commerce an unemployment conference which started September 26. Delegates were chosen from all parts of the United States and committees were appointed to prepare ways to meet the emergency.

The conference closed October 13 after extended investigation into the subject and direction of measures in various localities which reduced the number of unemployed.

In August and September, 1921, a labor war occurred in the coal fields of West Virginia. The President issued a proclamation stating that the army would be used if violence did not cease. Two thousand regulars were sent to the fields and the miners dispersed.

In a speech on Labor Day in Marion, Ohio, President Harding said: "I believe in unionism. I believe in collective bargaining. I believe the two have combined to speed labor toward its just regards. But I do not believe in labor's domination of business or government any more than I believe that capital shall dominate."

At the end of his first year the President, when asked what had been the greatest accomplishment of his term of office thus far, replied that it was the return of the country to normal ways of government. War-time tax measures were repealed and conferences with railroad men and with industrial leaders throughout the country had been held for the purpose of obtaining more normal adjustments of economic affairs. Some political prisoners, including Eugene V. Debs, Socialist candidate for President, had been liberated.

Legislation was passed early in 1923, putting the army and navy on a peace basis. Mr. Harding won a personal victory in preventing a further reduction of the personnel of the navy below the 86,000 he had recommended.

Declaring that the influence of the United States in world councils is "sure to be measured by that unfailing standard which is found in a nation's merchant marine," President Harding, early in 1922, addressed Congress in favor of a ship-subsidy bill. He declared at this time that the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence waterway project was "inseparably linked" with any program for an American merchant marine and was "unquestionably feasible."

The President fought hard for the passage of the ship-subsidy bill throughout the spring of 1922, but in June was compelled to turn his attention to an emergency requiring immediate settlement—the nationwide coal strike, involving 600,000 men, which was followed July 1 by a strike of railroad shop workers, also nationwide, involving 400,000 workers.

The railroad strike was called the very day that President Harding had convened, in Washington, a conference of bituminous and anthracite operators and the officials of the United Mine Workers' Union. He warned the gathering that it was no time to sound "the militant note of the radical" and reminded them that "toleration, fairness, the spirit of give and take, and finally a sense of the larger obligations to the public are essential to a successful conference."

Soon afterwards the President issued a warning to striking railroad employees against interference with the mails. On July 31 he submitted terms of arbitration to the railway managers. They were rejected because they proposed to restore the strikers to their places with seniority rights unimpaired.

On August 18, 1922, the President, inspired by the Herrin massacre, asked Congress to pass a bill giving the national Government the right to protect the rights of aliens working in this

country, and declared that he was "resolved to use all the power of the Government to maintain transportation and sustain the right of men to work."

Meanwhile he obtained through Attorney-General Daugherty, in Chicago and elsewhere, various injunctions restraining the strikers from sabotage and from interference with the operation of the railroads. On September 23 the most important of these injunctions was made permanent.

Before this, however, many of the railroad companies and the workers had come to an agreement which ended the strike. The strikes of the bituminous and anthracite coal miners were also settled and a Coal Commission, sponsored by the President, was created to consider means to prevent new strikes.

President Harding showed his independence of Congress in September, 1922, when he vetoed the soldier bonus bill, of which he did not approve because no way was provided to supply sufficient revenue to meet the large appropriation asked.

In the fall of 1922 the President reverted to his interest in ship subsidy, and on November 20 called a special session of Congress to consider his bill. On November 21, he appeared at a joint session and delivered a powerful message favoring the bill. It was passed by the House a few days later, but was later killed in the Senate.

An attack of grip impaired the efficiency of the President in January, but he was back addressing Congress February 7, 1923, this time commending the British debt settlement and also making a final plea for his ship-subsidy bill. And on February 24, he made his much-discussed appeal to the Senate to authorize American membership in a permanent Court of International Justice.

THIS IS AMERICA

O watching world, could you but understand,

THIS is America you see today—

These millions who their grieving tribute pay
Shed tears no fallen monarch could command,
Salute with silent gaze no sceptered hand.

A village lad, shaped from our common clay,
In field and shop had worked his useful way
To the high task and honor of his land.

Neighbor and friend and leader, true as steel,
More than his life he loved the common weal,

Preached kindness, sought peace with liberty—
For these things did he toil; for these he died;
For these her love, her confidence, her pride
America bestows on such as he!

—S. J. Duncan-Clark in *Chicago Evening Post*.

CHAPTER XII.

SOME NOTABLE ADDRESSES

On the Return of the Soldier Dead—At Arlington Cemetery on Memorial Day, 1921—At Valley Forge—At a Commercial Banquet in New York—At the Burial of the Unknown Soldier—Tribute to Theodore Roosevelt—Other Harding Expressions.

On the occasion of the return of 5,212 bodies of soldiers, sailors and marines who lost their lives in the great war President Harding made the following address at Hoboken, N. J., May 23, 1921:

"There grows on me the realization of the unusual character of this occasion. Our republic has been at war before; it has asked and received the supreme sacrifices of its sons and daughters, and faith in America has been justified. Many sons and daughters made the sublime offering and went to hallowed graves as the nation's defenders. But we never before sent so many to battle under the flag in foreign lands; never before was there the impressive spectacle of thousands of dead returned, to find eternal resting place in the beloved homeland. The incident is without any parallel in history that I know.

"These dead know nothing of our ceremony to-day. They sense nothing of the sentiment or the tenderness which brings their wasted bodies to the homeland for burial close to kin and friends and cherished associations. These poor bodies are but the clay tenements once possessed of souls which flamed in patriotic devotion, lighted new hopes on the battle grounds of civilization, and in their sacrifices sped on to accuse autocracy before the court of eternal justice.

"We are not met for them, though we love and honor and speak a grateful tribute. It would be futile to speak to those who do not hear or to sorrow for those who cannot sense it or to exalt those who can not know. But we can speak for country, we can reach those who sorrowed and sacrificed through their service, who suffered through their going, who glory with the republic through their heroic achievements, who rejoice in the civilization their heroism preserved. Every funeral, every memorial, every tribute is for the living—an offering in compensation of sorrow. When the light of life goes out there is a new radiance in eternity, and somehow the glow of it relieves the darkness which is left behind.

"Never a death but somewhere a new life; never a sacrifice but somewhere an atonement; never a service, but somewhere and somehow an achievement. These had served, which is the supreme inspiration in living. They have earned everlasting gratitude, which is the supreme solace in dying.

"No one may measure the vast and varied affections and sorrows on this priceless cargo of bodies—once living, fighting for and finally dying for the republic. One's words fail, his understanding is halted, his emotions are stirred beyond control when contemplating these thousands of beloved dead. I find a hundred thousand sorrows touching my heart, and there is ringing in my ears, like an admonition eternal, an insistent call, 'It must not be again! It must not be again!' God grant that it will not be, and let a practical people join in co-operation with God to the end that it shall not be.

"I would not wish a nation for which men are not willing to fight and, if need be, to die, but I do wish for a nation where it is not necessary to ask that sacrifice. I do not pretend that millennial days have come, but I can believe in the possibility of a nation being so righteous as never to make a war of conquest and a nation so powerful in righteousness that none will dare invoke her

wrath. I wish for such an America. These heroes were sacrificed in the supreme conflict of all human history. They saw democracy challenged and defended it. They saw civilization threatened and rescued it. They saw America affronted and resented it. They saw our nation's rights imperiled and stamped those rights with a new sanctity and renewed security.

"They gave all which men and women can give. We shall give our most and best if we make certain that they did not die in vain. We shall not forget, no matter whether they lie amid the sweetness and the bloom of the homeland or sleep in the soil they crimsoned. Our mindfulness, our gratitude, our reverence shall be in the preserved republic and the maintained liberties and the supreme justice for which they died."

ON MEMORIAL DAY, 1921

President Harding on May 30, 1921, attended the Memorial Day exercises at Arlington cemetery, near Washington, D. C., and spoke as follows:

"We are met on sacred soil today, for a solemn hour of sacrament and consecration. But the soil whence we come is itself sanctified through the sacrifices of those who lie here. Wherever our flag flies, within the boundaries of the republic, it is over lands whose freedom and security have been wrought through these sacrifices.

"It is the privilege of this company to utter our tribute of love and gratitude in the sacristsy of beauty within sight of the national capital. But others, no less devout, will assemble all over our land and other lands, under foreign skies and among alien peoples, to pay like tribute of love and memory.

"There are no restricted boundaries to the reverence of this day. There is no discordant note in the hymn of gratitude. With old wounds healed and a new generation's offering on the altars of our patriotism, there is no sectionalism in our memorial. Above the murmurings of grief is the swelling concord of union and the dominant note is our faith in the republic.

"It will be a tribute today spoken in many tongues, and by diverse races. Wherever men are free they are wont to give thought to our country's services in freedom's cause. Where men may but aspire to a freedom not yet achieved, their instinct turns the eye and the thought of hope this way, and they pray that their cause may gain our approbation. They know that we have never drawn the sword of oppression, that we have not sought what was not our own, nor taken all that we might have claimed.

"They have seen our protecting arm stretched over the outposts of liberty on every continent. For more than a century our plighted word warned tyranny from half the world; then, when the gage was taken up by mad ambition, men felt the blow that arm could strike when freedom answered in its utmost might. Across the seas we sent our hosts of liberty's sons, commissioned 'to redress the eternal scales.'

"Today the sons and daughters of other lands to which they gave their all are placing with loving hands their laurels on American graves, not less reverently than we are doing here. To me no thought comes with more of inspiration than this, that our Memorial day is become an international occasion; that it calls upon the fortunate free of many lands and countries to help in its observance; and that equally to them and us it is a reminder of our common troth to civilization, humanity, and everlasting justice.

"There are gathered here the ashes of a great army of those who fought in the struggle which preserved our union and insured our high place in the community of nations. Our debt to them will never be paid, but we can come, for them and for ourselves, on this national commemoration day to attest our veneration and undying love.

"The heroic dead, for whom the day was originated, preserved the ark of the covenant of union and nationality and in that service they made possible the exalted place so recently won for our country. Our own generation will not perform a part worthy of

its heritage if we do less than our very utmost to preserve that which they made possible for us to possess.

"In such a view, we must see that our opportunity to be useful to mankind at large depends first on being loyal to ourselves. No ideal of generosity to all men can justify neglect first to make ourselves strong, firm, secure, in behalf of our own people.

"We cannot hope to discharge the wider responsibilities if we have not first proved our capacity to meet the narrower ones. It is our wish to be useful in the greater realms, but if we are to do so, we must have no question of our devotion to the great principles for which these gave their lives in the struggle which saved the union and rededicated it forever to liberty.

"I counsel no selfishness, no little Americanism, no mere parochialism, when I urge that our first duty is to our own, and that in the measure of its performance we will find the true gauge of our capacity to be helpful to others.

"It is a good thing to come to this consecrated place and renew the pledges of our loyalty to those whose patriotism gave us our strength and opportunity. They did not know, they could not know, for what greater things they were laying the foundations. Yet their instinct rightly led them to the judgment that their first duty was to preserve the institution of popular rule, of national solidarity.

"They did not enter upon the war among the states with primary purpose to end the institution of human slavery. Worthy as that might have been, their inspiration was higher. They sought first to maintain the union, to keep it a power for the advancement of America and humanity, confident that if they won, all other rightful things in due time would be achieved. They were right then; in the end slavery received its decree of banishment from this continent—and at last from the world.

"It was the same in the more recent war of the free peoples against the autocracies of the world. In its beginnings men

fought to protect that which they already had. Their countries' lives were at stake; their rights as free men were menaced; and for these they went forth to battle.

"There was no thought of crusading for the freedom of a world, of emancipating distant peoples, of rendering a noble service to the enemy who had attacked them. They had no time and small disposition to indulge altruisms.

"Yet, as in the case of our civil war, they won far more than they had sought in the beginning. They won for themselves their homes, their countries; and in doing so they destroyed wellnigh the last intrenchments of the mistaken doctrine of divine right to rule. They gained the victory for their own grateful countries, and with it they won, for those whom they defeated, the opportunity of establishing free institutions, of planting democracies where absolutism had held sway, of making the people supreme.

"True, they were able only to afford opportunity for this great advance. They could not force free institutions upon the crushed and broken enemy, they could not insure that those institutions would be permanent, even if experimentally adopted. Freedom is not to be crowded upon those who will not have it; but the privilege of adopting and having, and enjoying it—that privilege was opened wide to the vanquished communities which had sought to take it from others.

"Thus we see that, whether in our civil struggle or in the world war, the triumph of the right inevitably implies gains that sweep far beyond the immediate issue. Those heroes of the civil war who sleep about us here wrote that lesson in symbols of blood and fire where all men might read.

"And they did yet more. They taught the lessons of a great community making its fight for freedom an exclusive business of the whole people. Never before had there been an example on such a scale of the entire human and industrial power of a people being cast into the common cause.

"It achieved that which experts and economists described as the impossible. It defied the edict that economic exhaustion and financial disabilities must prevent a decisive victory. It demonstrated that the wealth and resources of a nation lie not in acres and bushels, in bank balances and tonnages, in taxable wealth and going business, but rather in the sinews and souls of its inspired people. Therein the example of our fraternal struggle taught the lesson which later moved agonized civilization to reject an indecisive peace.

"So much, and vastly more, we owe as a debt to these who won the peace of union and liberty. It is a debt that has not yet been discharged in full; a debt on which every succeeding generation can hope only to pay its installment; for it obligates us, and those after us, to maintain for this people the high estate which they established.

"We never will yield aught of what they won for us. Forbidden by the law of life and institutions, we cannot stand still. We must always move forward, along the upward paths they marked for us.

"Thus appraising and thus acknowledging our responsibility, we will do well to consider the particular burdens it lays upon us. We look about us on a world troubled and torn, groping for a way back to light and opportunity. We find ourselves, as a people, occupying a place of vast responsibility in that world. We stand among the leaders to whom it looks for guidance and direction.

"We are blessed with wealth, with the institutions of freedom, with the magnificent tradition that comes to us from those whom today we honor. We cannot evade, if we would; for mankind is fallen on times when there is no hope for it if some communities seek isolation while others indulge unrestrained ambition for empire.

"Civilization must face disaster if there shall be a denial either

of common responsibility or of essential equality among sovereign states and persons.

"We have heard much about the danger of winning the war and losing the peace. But is there not, in the example of those who made the ultimate sacrifice, a lofty inspiration to the same singleness of purpose, the same readiness to sink individual for the sake of general good, that moved them? Though they were not trained to military forms and evolutions, yet they learned to stand together in unbroken line, to move as unities, to forget the individual for the sake of the mass.

"Surely there is no reason why peace may not achieve discipline, unification, directness of purpose, as war does. It requires the same submergence of selfish ends, the same relinquishment of the merely personal gratifications, the same regard for the common interest.

"I am not counseling surrendered independence. Our maintained freedom is the source of our might. Only the American conscience may command this republic.

"It is indeed, a different matter to achieve the discipline that peace demands. There is not the urge of instant danger, the rigor of authority to overcome that danger. It is needful to bring into subjugation the thoughtless mind, the indulgent disposition, the easy quest of pleasure, the lust of gains, the aspiration for power and personal satisfaction.

"It is required to substitute saving for thoughtless spending, thrift for waste, unceasing productive efforts for the simple habit of spending the shortest time and least energy on the job.

"During the war, when we were all intent on the great business of winning, we saw this discipline established in mine, factory and farm. We worried not a little about how extravagant we were; but, on the other hand, we all turned in and worked, and we made those years of the war period marvels of productiveness despite that millions of workers were in the uniform and



Photo Copyright U. & U.
 Above—View of the U. S. S. Henderson, the Ship That Carried President Harding and His Party to Alaska. Below—President and Mrs. Harding and Their Party on the Observation Platform of Their Train in Alaska. Last Photo of the President Before His Illness, Showing Signs of His Weariness.



Photo Copyright U. & U.
Scene at Ketchikan, Alaska, as the U. S. Transport Henderson, Bearing President and Mrs. Harding and Their Party Neared the Dock, Showing Welcoming Crowd and Snow-Capped Mountains in the Distance.

other millions were engaged in the special industries which war necessitated.

"With the return of peace this industrial discipline was thrown aside; not only in our country but in every country that was in the war. A breakdown of morale accompanied it, and we find ourselves halting when we ought to move forward. We need a patriotism resolute in peace as well as a patriotism aflame in war.

"Nowhere were men prepared to cope with the new problems of peace; nowhere were they less prepared than in this country. But if we had failed to set up the machinery for liquidation of war conditions, we nevertheless came out with our producing organization less wrenched and shaken than was that of the European countries.

"Our soil had not been invaded; our people had not suffered the physical privations which were visited upon great communities elsewhere.

"We came forth with better credit, sounder currency, and a ratio of debt far less than those of either allied or enemy states.

"Though our sorrows seemed measureless, we were more lightly touched, and for griefs incurable there were compensations. We found the soul of America; we have the freeborn spirit of the republic.

"I know the aching hearts. It requires nearness to measure the burden of grief. Only a few days ago I saw more than five thousand flag-draped coffins, tenanted with their heroic dead. Theirs was mute eloquence in protesting war; theirs was the supreme appeal for war's avoidance.

"The way to preserve honor without material waste and the costlier human sacrifice would be the surpassing memorial tribute. We may not bestow it today, but we may fittingly resolve that the influence and example of our America shall point the way to such lofty achievements.

"In the inspirations that we may gain through today's contemplation of the deeds of these, our heroes of all our wars, we are called to look toward tomorrow's obligations.

"Our country has never failed to measure up to the demands presented to it in behalf of humanity, and it never will. When it ceases to meet these drafts, it will no longer be our country; it will be, if that time ever comes, the wretched and decaying memorial of another civilization which has crumbled, of another ideal which has failed, of another ambition for men's happiness which somehow has gone awry.

"We feel aye, in our hearts we know, that ours is not to be that fate. We believe that the torch will flame more brightly in our hands, that we will hold it safe and high aloft, and that its light will help, at least, to point the way for humanity on the path of safety and in the task of building for all times."

AT NEW YORK COMMERCIAL DINNER

In an address at the dinner in celebration of the 125th anniversary of the New York Commercial at the Hotel Commodore, New York, N. Y., on May 23, 1921, President Harding said in part:

"Justice, like charity, must begin at home. We must be just to ourselves, and to our own first of all. This is not selfish, for selfishness seeks more than a fair share; we seek only that which is rightfully our own and then to preserve that to ourselves and our posterity. The war sadly disjointed things in the world, and we are now seeking to restore the proper balance. In our efforts to do this, to achieve justice without selfishness, we will do well to cling to our firm foundations. I believe in the inspired beginning. There we will find that national greatness was founded on agriculture, that later we developed industry, and ultimately commerce, both domestic and foreign.

"We will do well to keep in mind at this time the fundamental importance of agriculture, and in every possible way insure justice to it. Surely we have done all that could be expected of us in

carrying the burdens of others, and there is no regret, but our just concern now is for our America, because our own restoration is our first service to a world turning to us for aid and inspiration. The country has emerged from the hectic prosperity following the war, and is suffering from depression. We are confronted by the need to place our own house in order, and no more important feature of that effort can be visioned than to place our agricultural industry on a sound basis, and provide machinery and facilities for financing and distributing crops. If we do this we merely will be providing the farmer with facilities similar to those enjoyed by the business community generally. The farmer is entitled to all the help the government can give him without injustice to others, because it is of the utmost importance that the agricultural community be contented and prosperous. This must be accomplished not at the expense of any other section of the community but by processes which will insure real justice among all elements in the community. Agriculture has been laboring under several handicaps, and is entitled to have facilities placed at its disposal which will remove these.

"Turning to industry, our policy must be to give it every facility possible, but to keep government outside of participation in business on its own account. It is not necessary for the government to intrude itself in the business activities which are better conducted through private instrumentalities merely in order to demonstrate that the government is more powerful than anything else in this country. The time has passed when any man or group of men are likely to indulge the idea of being more powerful than the government.

"There is no need for the government to engage in business in order to enforce justice and fair dealing in business. Nor is there need for the government to engage in business to deplete the treasury. The government's part in business should be no more than to insure adherence to the principles of common honesty

and to establish regulations that will enable it to sail a safe course. There has been some tendency to regard business as dishonest until it should prove itself honest and to regard bigness in business as a crime. But almost all business today is conducted on a scale which, though we have come to regard it as commonplace, would have made our forefathers gasp; and I prefer to assume it is honest until proven dishonest. If they had attempted to limit business in size and scope they would have prevented even the little business of today being as great as it is. So I speak for the least possible measure of government interference with business, but for the largest co-operation with properly conducted business and the most effective measures to insure that, whether it be big or little, business shall be honest and fair.

"In our effort at establishing industrial justice we must see that the wage earner is placed in an economically sound position. His lowest wage must be enough for comfort, enough to make his house a home, enough to insure that the struggle for existence shall not crowd out the things truly worth existing for. There must be provision for education, for recreation and a margin for savings. There must be such freedom of action as will insure full play to the individual's abilities. On the other side, the wage earner must do justice to society. He must render services fully equal in value to the compensation he is paid. And finally, both employer and employe owe to the public such efficiency as will insure that cost of service or production shall not be higher than the public can fairly pay.

"Assuming that these things may be laid down as fundamentals, it is for us all to get back to work. That is what made our country great; it is what will put the whole world back on the right track. We must have, the world must have, confidence that things will come out right. We have dealt with the greatest problem that humanity ever confronted in carrying on the war. We will have no problems hereafter greater or more difficult than that was.

Therefore we are entitled to every confidence that we will cope successfully with the problems which yet lie ahead of us."

AT VALLEY FORGE

Following are excerpts from an address made by President Harding at Valley Forge, Pa., June 6, 1921:

"It is good to come to this shrine of liberty, not alone to offer willing tribute to those who perished but to rededicate ourselves to the patriotism which suffered and sacrificed here in order that our new standards of freedom and democracy should abide.

"Valley Forge tested the heroic resolution of the new world contenders for liberty. In the crucible of suffering they blended the conflicting elements of the colonies and revealed the metal of the republic.

"They proved that lofty heroism is not always tragic, but develops its supreme offering in the dull prolonged suffering which glorifies abiding faith and unalterable resolution.

"We Americans have wrought so marvelously and so seemingly easily that it brings us to a new appreciation to stand amid the scenes of the dearly purchased republic. We need to know the making of an inheritance to measure our own responsibility in its preservation.

"Our supreme task is to preserve the fundamentals of our new world liberty and guard against the abuses and injustices which have sought to attach themselves to the established order since the world began. The rational work of every civilization is to cure without destroying and guard against the enemies of liberty which come to us cloaked in pretended helpfulness.

"Here is the chief difficulty of the world today. In the turbulence and upheaval of World War, when all humanity was distracted and distressed, the vandals who operate amid calamity have sought to hoot suffering civilization. But an American dedicated to its standards at Valley Forge will hold fast and

suffer if need be until our inherited institutions are justified and guaranteed anew to this generation and all posterity.

"If we could only bring all America to the shrine, if we could bring those who are the natural inheritors and those who come to share our inheritance, we should effect a realization which would strengthen the American resolution."

AT BURIAL OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER

Following the example of France, Britain, and Italy, the United States, on Armistice Day, November 11, 1921, paid tribute to those of her sons who died in the World War by burying with striking ceremonies an unknown dead soldier in Arlington Cemetery, at Washington. The selection of the body of the unknown dead was made in France by a young American soldier, chosen on account of his fine War record, and the body was brought to the United States on the cruiser *Olympia*, Admiral Dewey's flagship in the battle of Manila Bay. On the day of the funeral at Washington, after an impressive procession, in which President Harding and General Pershing walked side by side behind the unknown hero's body, the President made the following address at Arlington, after some preliminary services:

"We are met today to pay the impersonal tribute. The name of him whose body lies before us took flight with his imperishable soul. We know not whence he came, but only that his death marks him with the everlasting glory of an American dying for his country.

"He might have come from any one of millions of American homes. Some mother gave him in her love and tenderness and her most cherished hopes. Hundreds of mothers are wondering today, finding a touch of solace in the possibility that the nation bows in grief over the body of one she bore to live and die, if need be, for the republic.

"If we give rein to fancy, a score of sympathetic chords are touched, for in this body there once glowed the soul of an

American with the aspirations and ambitions of a citizen who cherished life and its opportunities. He may have been a native or an adopted son; that matters little, because they glorified the same loyalty, they sacrificed alike.

"We do not know his station in life, because from every station came the patriotic response of the 5,000,000. I recall the days of creating armies and the departing of caravans which braved the murderous seas to reach the battle lines for maintained nationalism and preserved civilization.

"The service flag marked mansion and cottage alike, and riches were common to all homes in the consciousness of service to country.

"We do not know the eminence of his birth, but we do know the glory of his death. He died for his country, and greater devotion hath no man than this. He died unquestioning, uncomplaining, with faith in his heart and hope on his lips, that his country should triumph and its civilization survive. As a typical soldier of this representative democracy he fought and died, believing in the indisputable justice of his country's cause. Conscious of the world's upheaval, appraising the magnitude of a war the like of which had never horrified humanity before, perhaps he believed his to be a service destined to change the tide of human affairs.

"In the death gloom of gas, the bursting of shells and the rain of bullets men face more intimately the great God over all, their souls are aflame, and consciousness expands and hearts are searched.

"With the din of battle, the glow of conflict and the supreme trial of courage come involuntarily the hurried appraisal of life and the contemplation of death's great mystery. On the threshold of eternity many a soldier, I can well believe, wondered how his ebbing blood would color the stream of human life flowing on after his sacrifice. His patriotism was none less if he craved

more than triumph of country; rather it was greater if he hoped for a victory for all humankind.

"Indeed, I revere that citizen whose confidence in the righteousness of his country inspired belief that its triumph is the victory of humanity.

"This American soldier went forth to battle with no hatred for any people in the world, but hating war and hating the purpose of every war for conquest. He cherished our national rights and abhorred the threat of armed domination; and in the maelstrom of destruction and suffering and death he fired his shot for liberation of the captive conscience of the world. In advancing toward his objective was somewhere a thought of a world awakened; and we are here to testify undying gratitude and reverence for that thought of a wider freedom.

"On such an occasion as this, amid such a scene, our thoughts alternate between defenders living and defenders dead. A grateful republic will be worthy of them both. Our part is to atone for the losses of heroic dead by making a better republic for the living.

"Sleeping in these hallowed grounds are thousands of Americans who have given their blood for the baptism of freedom and its maintenance; armed exponents of the nation's conscience. It is better and nobler for their deeds. Burial here is rather more than a sign of the government's favor; it is a suggestion of a tomb in the heart of the nation sorrowing for its noble dead.

"Today's ceremonies proclaim that the hero unknown is not unhonored. We gather him to the nation's breast, within the shadow of the capitol, of the towering shaft that honors Washington, the great father, and of the exquisite monument of Lincoln, the martyred savior. Here the inspirations of yesterday and the conscience of today forever unite to make the republic worthy of his death for flag and country.

"Ours are lofty resolutions today, as with tribute to the dead

we consecrate ourselves to a better order for the living. With all my heart I wish we might say to the defenders who survive, to mothers who sorrow, to widows and children who mourn, that no such sacrifice shall be asked again.

"It was my fortune recently to see a demonstration of modern warfare. It is no longer a conflict in chivalry, no more a test of militant manhood. It is only cruel, deliberate, scientific destruction. There was no contending enemy; only the theoretic defense of a hypothetic objective. But the attack was made with all the relentless methods of modern destruction.

"There was the rain of ruin from the aircraft, the thunder of artillery followed by the unspeakable devastation wrought by bursting shells; there were mortars belching their bombs of desolation; machine guns concentrating their leaden storms; there was the infantry, advancing, firing and falling—like men with souls sacrificing for the decision. The flying missiles were revealed by illuminating tracers, so that we could note their flight and appraise their deadliness. The air was streaked with tiny flames marking the flight of massed destruction, while the effectiveness of the theoretical defense was impressed by the simulation of dead and wounded among those going forward, undaunted and unheeding.

"As this panorama of unutterable destruction visualized the horrors of modern conflict there grew on me the sense of the failure of a civilization which can leave its problems to such cruel arbitrament. Surely, no one in authority, with human attributes and full appraisal of the patriotic loyalty of his countrymen, could ask the manhood of kingdom, empire or republic to make such sacrifice until all reason had failed, until appeal to justice through understanding had been denied, until every effort of love and consideration for fellow men had been exhausted, until freedom itself and inviolate honor had been brutally threatened.

"I speak not as a pacifist fearing war but as one who loves

justice and hates war. I speak as one who believes the highest function of government is to give its citizens the security of peace, the opportunity to achieve and the pursuit of happiness.

"The loftiest tribute we can bestow today—the heroically earned tribute—fashioned in deliberate conviction out of unclouded thought, neither shadowed by remorse nor made vain by fancies—is the commitment of this republic to an advancement never made before.

"If American achievement is a cherished pride at home, if our unselfishness among nations is all we wish it to be, and ours is a helpful example in the world, then let us give of our influence and strength, yea, of our aspirations and convictions, to put mankind on a little higher plane, exulting and exalting with war's distressing and depressing tragedies barred from the stage of righteous civilization.

"There have been a thousand defenses justly and patriotically made; a thousand offenses which reason and righteousness ought to have stayed. Let us beseech all men to join us in seeking the rule under which reason and righteousness shall prevail.

"Standing today on hallowed ground, conscious that all America has halted to share in the tribute of heart and mind and soul to this fellow American, and knowing that the world is noting this expression of the republic's mindfulness, it is fitting to say that his sacrifice, and that of the millions dead, shall not be in vain. There must be, there shall be, the commanding voice of a conscious civilization against armed warfare.

"As we return this poor clay to its mother soil, garlanded by love and covered with the decorations that only nations can bestow, I can sense the prayers of our people, of all peoples, that this Armistice day shall mark the beginning of a new and lasting era of peace on earth, good will among men. Let us join in that prayer—

"Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us, and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever. Amen."

At the close of his address President Harding placed the medal of honor and distinguished service cross on the casket. Lord Beatty, admiral of the British fleet, then bestowed the Victoria cross on the unknown dead. It was the first time it had been given any one not a British subject. Marshal Foch followed with the military medal and war cross of France. Similar honors were paid by Prince Lubomirski of Poland, Gen. Diaz of Italy, Prince Bibeco of Roumania, Dr. Stepanek of Czecho-Slovakia and Gen. Jacques of Belgium. The last named tore from his own tunic the medal of valor, pinned there by the king of Belgium, and laid it on the casket. An Indian chief laid upon the coffin his wand of office and feathered war bonnet. Then the body of the unidentified American warrior was lowered into its last resting place, a salute was fired, and with the sounding of "taps" by a bugle the ceremonies came to an end.

TRIBUTE TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT

On January 29, 1919, Warren G. Harding, then Senator from Ohio, not dreaming of being the next President, stood before the Ohio General Assembly at Columbus in joint session and delivered a memorial address in honor of Theodore Roosevelt, who had died on January 6. Mr. Harding said:

"I stood before the flag-draped casket in the little church at Oyster Bay, amid simplicity so rigid that one could not help remarking it, and yielded to conflicting emotions.

"I wondered if by some fitting miracle an inanimate flag could mourn. One could not see the casket—only its form—because the vision was filled with the flag, and it seemed to me the colors clung

as though sorrowing at the loss of their most fearless defender.

"One little noted the floral tributes; one was little concerned about eminent statesmen and famous writers and military chieftains and high officials who had gathered with neighbors and friends in reverent sorrow for the long farewell. My own ears were deaf to the reading of the ritual and the recital of his favorite hymn. I was thinking of the flag and the soulless form it draped.

"Great citizens had passed before. Beloved executives, heroic soldiers, and farseeing statesmen—all had come to the inevitable, either too soon or in the fullness of distinguished lives—and the nation had mourned, and the peoples sorrowed, and potentates had sympathized, but there was a distinct conviction that the flag lost its bravest defender when Theodore Roosevelt passed from life to the eternal.

"In his virile American manhood he was the surpassing and inspiring example. In the fullness of mental and physical vigor he was the greatest patriotic sentinel, pacing the parapet of the republic, alert to danger and every menace and in love with duty and service, and always unafraid.

"It is little to say that the republic is bigger and better and mightily advanced by his part in its glorious history, more American for his call to patriotism, and more secure for his warning of perils. It is more to say he inspired those who follow to nobler manhood and higher ideals.

"It didn't seem quite in harmony with his untiring activity and unharnessed soul that its flame should fail in the quiet of slumber; but it was peace valiantly and triumphantly won, and the flames he lighted burned afresh and will light the way of a people whom he loved and who loved him as a great American."

FOR PARTY GOVERNMENT

Other Harding expressions, taken from the speech of acceptance of the Republican Presidential nomination, include the following:

"I believe in party government as distinguished from personal government, individual, dictatorial, autocratic or what not.

"No surrender of rights to a world council or its military alliance, no assumed mandatory, however appealing, ever shall summon the sons of this republic to war. Their supreme sacrifice shall only be asked for America and its call of honor.

I can speak unreservedly of the American aspiration and the Republican commital for an association of nations, co-operating in sublime accord, to attain and preserve peace through justice rather than force, determined to add to security through legitimate means,, and assured that no misconstruction can be possible without affronting world honor.

SCORES PROFITEERING

"Profiteering is a crime of commission, underproduction is a crime of omission.

"I want the employers in industry to understand the aspirations, the convictions, the yearnings of the millions of American wage earners, and I want the wage earners to understand the problems, the anxieties, the obligations of management and capital, and all of them must understand their relationship to the people and their obligation to the republic.

"We are so confident that much of the present day insufficiency and inefficiency of (railroad) transportation are due to the withering hand of government operation that we emphasize anew our opposition to government ownership.

"Let us facilitate co-operation to insure against the risks attending agriculture, which the urban world so little understands, and a like co-operation to market their products as directly as possible.

"I believe federal departments should be made more business-like and send back to productive effort thousands of federal employes who are either duplicating work or are not essential at all.

FOR LIBERTY AND JUSTICE

"From President Harding's address at the opening of the arms limitation conference, November 11, 1921:

"All of us demand liberty and justice. There cannot be one without the other and they must be held the unquestioned possession of all peoples. Inherent rights are of God, and the tragedies of the world originate in their attempted denial.

"In soberest reflection the world's hundreds of millions who pay in peace and die in war wish their statesmen to turn the expenditures for destruction into means of construction, aimed at a higher state for those who live and follow after.

"War has grown progressively cruel and more destructive from the first recorded conflict to this pregnant day, and the reverse order would more become our boasted civilization.

WORLD MUST BE HONEST

"We should act together to remove the cause of apprehension. This is not to be done in intrigue. Greater assurance is found in the exchanges of simple honesty and directness among men resolved to accomplish as becomes leaders among nations when civilization itself has come to its crucial test.

"Our hundred millions want less of armament and none of war.

"We are met for a service to mankind. In all simplicity, in all honesty and all honor there may be written here the avowals of a world conscience refined by the consuming fires of war and made more sensitive by the anxious aftermath."

HIS TRIBUTE TO LINCOLN

At the dedication of Lincoln's tomb at Washington May 30, 1922, President Harding paid this tribute to the great Emancipator:

"How it would comfort his great soul to know that the States of the Southland join sincerely in honoring him, and have twice,

since his day, joined with all the fervor of his own great heart in defending the flag.

"How, with his love of freedom and justice, this apostle of humanity would have found his sorrows tenfold repaid to see the hundred millions to whom he bequeathed reunion and nationality giving their sons and daughters and all their fortunes to halt the armed march of autocracy and preserve civilization as he preserved union."

STAND IN MINE DISPUTES

In calling together mine operators and workers at Washington, D. C., July 1, 1922, to urge them against striking, President Harding said:

"Coal is indispensable to our life as a people, and since this opportunity of development on your part, both as workers and operators, you have created in turn an obligation to serve.

"Conflicting views as to your policies and obligations to one another in nowise modify your obligations to that public which made possible your industrial existence.

"The government has no desire to intrude itself into the field of your activities.

"You are admonished to arrive at such understanding with measureable promptness, among yourselves.

"Failing in that, the servants of the American people will be called to the task in the name of American society and for the good of all the people."

PRESIDENT HARDING

Martyr of fate, child of a Nation's sorrow,
Deathless in death that near divinity brings;
Reckless now of the night or the frowning morrow,
His soul is sure of immortal rightness of things.

Great was this man in kindness, greater in loving;
Saintly simplicity sweetened each act and word;
Gentleness marked him, strength was a light above him,
Swift was his mind, and bright, as a flashing sword.

Now falls the dark of the Nation's, aye, the world's mourning.
Sadness bursts from the gate of mankind's heart.
But one great soul has found its eternal morning,
Death has touched him with glory, has set him apart.

—J. W. L. in *Cincinnati Enquirer*.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ARMS CONFERENCE

Limitation of Armament Urged by President Harding—His Invitation to the Great Powers to Confer—Conference Assembles at Washington—Report of the American Delegation—Results of the Conference—Mr. Harding's Closing Speech—Treaties Submitted to the United States Senate—All Ratified With Little Delay.

President Harding's constant efforts for world peace were typified by his invitation to the great powers to confer on the limitation of armaments. The conference in Washington, D. C., on this question began its labors on November 12, 1921, and concluded them on February 6, 1922. Agreement was reached on some of the more important subjects mentioned in the tentative agenda submitted to the invited powers, including limitation of naval armament and rules for the control of new agencies of warfare. No action was taken as to the reduction of land armaments. An understanding was also reached on various Pacific and Far Eastern questions, particularly with reference to the mandated islands and China. The results, as noted heretofore, constituted one of the great achievements of Mr. Harding's two years in the White House.

The story of the conference was told lucidly in a report submitted by the American delegation to President Harding on February 9, 1922. It was signed by Charles E. Hughes, Henry Cabot Lodge, Oscar W. Underwood and Elihu Root. This report, in part, was as follows:

"On July 8, 1921, by direction of the President, the Department of State addressed an informal inquiry to the group of powers known as the principal allied and associated powers—that is, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan—to ascertain whether it would be agreeable to them to take part in a conference on the subject of limitation of armament, to be held in Washington at a time to be mutually agreed upon. In making this inquiry it was stated to be manifest that the question of limitation of armament had a close relation to Pacific and Far Eastern problems, and the President suggested that the powers especially interested in these problems should undertake, in connection with the conference, the consideration of all matters bearing upon their solution, with a view to reaching a common understanding with respect to principles and policies in the Far East. The suggestion having been favorably received, formal invitations were issued to the powers above mentioned to participate in a conference on limitation of armament to be held in Washington on November 11, 1921, and an invitation was also extended to Belgium, China, the Netherlands and Portugal to participate in the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions in connection with the conference.

"These invitations were formally accepted and the first session of the conference was held in Continental Hall in the city of Washington on the twelfth day of November, 1921, the time of the first session being postponed in order to permit the delegates to attend the ceremonies upon the burial of the unknown soldier at Arlington cemetery on November 11."

After naming the members of the various delegations and their technical staffs and quoting President Harding's opening address the report continued:

"Following the address of the President the conference, on motion of Mr. Balfour, elected the Secretary of State of the United States as chairman of the conference and of each com-

mittee of which he should be a member. The Hon. John W. Garrett, of Baltimore, Md., was elected Secretary-General. A committee on program and procedure was appointed, consisting of the heads of the delegations or such representatives as each power might select for the purpose.

"As the conference was to concern itself with two groups of questions which, though related, required separate investigation and discussion—that is, (1) the question of limitation of armament and (2) Pacific and Far Eastern questions—it became necessary to provide a course of procedure which would facilitate the work of the conference in both fields. In the public discussions which preceded the conference there were apparently two competing views: That the consideration of armament should await the result of the discussion of the Far Eastern questions and another that the latter discussion should be postponed until an agreement for the limitation of armament had been reached. It was not thought necessary to adopt either of these extreme views. It was proposed that the conference should proceed at once to consider the question of the limitation of armament, but this was not deemed to require the postponement of the examination of Far Eastern questions. In order to serve both purposes two committees were set up. (1) consisting of the plenipotentiary delegates of the five powers—the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan—to deal with questions of armament, and (2) consisting of the delegates of the nine powers—that is, the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal—to deal with Pacific and Far Eastern questions.

"The work of the two committees proceeded along parallel lines without interference with each other and the conclusions reached in each were reported, from time to time, to the conference in plenary session for its adoption. Each committee provided itself with the necessary subcommittees dealing with tech-

nical questions and drafting, so that in the most expeditious manner all questions before the conference were thoroughly considered.

"The conference held seven plenary or public sessions, at the last of which, on February 6, 1922, the treaties approved by the conference were signed.

"While the sessions of the committees were not public, a complete record was kept of their all proceedings, and at the close of each session of the committees on armament and on Pacific and Far Eastern questions, respectively, a communique was made to the press, which, generally, stated all that had taken place in the committee and in all cases set forth whatever matters of importance had received attention. Thus full publicity was given to the proceedings of the conference."

The report gave a statement of the agenda submitted to the invited powers and adds that while this statement was not formally adopted by the conference the proceedings closely followed the lines thus indicated.

"The following treaties," continued the report, "were approved by the conference and signed at the closing session on February 6, 1922:

"(1) A treaty between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan limiting naval armament.

"(2) A treaty between the same powers in relation to the use of submarines and noxious gases in warfare.

"(3) A treaty between all nine powers relating to principles and policies to be followed in matters concerning China.

"(4) A treaty between the nine powers relating to Chinese customs tariffs.

"The following treaties were notified to the conference:

"(1) A treaty between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, and Japan, signed December 13, 1921, relat-

ing to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the Pacific ocean.

“(2) A treaty between the same powers, supplementary to the above, signed February 6, 1922.

“(3) A treaty between China and Japan, signed February 4, 1922, providing for the restoration to China of rights and interests in the province of Shantung.

“In addition, while the conference was in session the Government of the United States and the Government of Japan reached an agreement in relation to the island of Yap and the mandated islands in the Pacific ocean north of the equator, which is to be embodied in a formal convention.”

[The Yap treaty was signed February 11 and ratified March 1, 1922, by the United States Senate.]

GENERAL SUMMARY

After giving the points in the agreement made between the United States and Japan relating to the mandated islands in the Pacific ocean north of the equator, and noting the fact that no action was taken with respect to electrical communications in the Pacific, the report ended with the following general summary:

“To estimate correctly the character and value of these several treaties, resolutions and formal declarations they should be considered as a whole. Each one contributes its part in combination with the others toward the establishment of conditions in which peaceful security will take the place of competitive preparation for war.

“The declared object was, in its naval aspect, to stop the race of competitive building of warships which was in process and which was so distressingly like the competition that immediately preceded the war of 1914. Competitive armament, however, is the result of a state of mind in which a national expectation of attack by some other country causes preparation to meet the attack. To stop competition it is necessary to deal with the state

of mind from which it results. A belief in the pacific intentions of other powers must be substituted for suspicion and apprehension.

"The negotiations which led to the four-power treaty were the process of attaining that new state of mind and the four-power treaty itself was the expression of that new state of mind. It terminated the Anglo-Japanese alliance and substituted friendly conference in place of war as the first reaction from any controversies which might arise in the region of the Pacific; it would not have been possible except as part of a plan including a limitation and a reduction of naval armaments, but that limitation and reduction would not have been possible without the new relations established by the four-power treaty or something equivalent to it.

"The new relations declared in the four-power treaty could not, however, inspire confidence or be reasonably assured of continuance without a specific understanding as to the relations of the powers to China. Such an understanding had two aspects. One related to securing fairer treatment of China and the other related to the competition for trade and industrial advantages in China between the outside powers.

"An agreement covering both these grounds in a rather fundamental way was embodied in the first article of the general nine-power treaty regarding China. In order, however, to bring the rules set out in that article out of the realm of mere abstract propositions and make them practical rules of conduct it was necessary to provide for applying them so far as the present conditions of government and social order in China permit. This was done by the remaining provisions of the general nine-power treaty and Chinese customs treaty and the series of formal declarations made a part of the record of the conference.

"The scope of action by the conference in dealing with Chinese affairs was much limited by the disturbed conditions of government in China which have existed since the revolution of 1911,

and which still exist, and which render effective action by that government exceedingly difficult and in some directions impracticable. In every case the action of the conference was taken with primary reference to giving the greatest help possible to the Chinese people in developing a stable and effective government really representative of the people of China. Much was accomplished in that direction and the rules of conduct set forth in the first article of the general treaty regarding China have not merely received the assent of the powers, but have been accepted and applied to concrete cases.

"The sum total of the action taken in the conference regarding China, together with the return of Shantung by direct agreement between China and Japan, the withdrawal of the most unsatisfactory of the so-called 'twenty-one demands' and the explicit declaration of Japan regarding the closely related territory of eastern Siberia, justify the relation of confidence and good will expressed in the four-power treaty and upon which the reduction of armament provided in the naval treaty may be contemplated with a sense of security."

PRESIDENT HARDING'S CLOSING ADDRESS

President Harding, in an address at the closing session of the conference, said:

"Nearly three months ago it was my privilege to utter to you sincerest words of welcome to the capital of our Republic, to suggest the spirit in which you were invited and to intimate the atmosphere in which you were asked to confer. In a very general way, perhaps, I ventured to express a hope for the things toward which our aspirations led us.

"To-day it is my greater privilege, and even greater pleasure, to come to make acknowledgment. It is one of the supreme compensations of life to contemplate a worth-while accomplishment.

"This conference has wrought a truly great achievement. It is hazardous sometimes to speak in superlatives and I will be re-

strained. But I will say, with every confidence, that the faith plighted here to-day, kept in national honor, will mark the beginning of a new and better epoch in human progress.

"Stripped to the simplest fact, what is the spectacle which has inspired a new hope for the world?

"Gathered about this table nine great nations of the earth—not all, to be sure, but those most directly concerned with the problems at hand—have met and have conferred on questions of great import and common concern, on problems menacing their peaceful relationship, on burdens threatening a common peril.

"In the revealing light of the public opinion of the world without surrender of sovereignty, without impaired nationality or offended national pride, a solution has been found in unanimity and to-day's adjournment is marked by rejoicing in the things accomplished.

"If the world has hungered for new assurance it may feast at the banquet which the conference has spread.

"And you have agreed in spite of all difficulties and the agreements are proclaimed to the world. No new standards of national honor have been sought, but the indictments of national dishonor have been drawn and the world is ready to proclaim the odiousness of perfidy or infamy.

"It is not pretended that the pursuit of peace and the limitations of armament are new conceits or that the conference is a new conception either in settlement of war or in writing the conscience of international relationship.

"Indeed, it is not new to have met in the realization of war's supreme penalties. The Hague conventions are examples of the one, the conferences of Vienna, of Berlin, of Versailles are outstanding instances of the other.

"The Hague conventions were defeated by the antagonism of one strong power whose indisposition to co-operate and sustain led it to one of the supreme tragedies which have come to national

eminence. Vienna and Berlin sought peace founded on the injustices of war and sowed the seeds of future conflicts, and hatred was armed where confidence was stifled.

"Your achievement is supreme because no seed of conflict has been sown; no reaction in regret or resentment ever can justify resort to arms.

"You have written the first deliberate and effective expression of great powers, in the consciousness of peace, of war's utter futility and challenged the sanity of competitive preparation for each other's destruction.

"You have halted folly and lifted burdens and revealed to the world that the one sure way to recover from sorrow and ruin and staggering obligations of a world war is to end the strife in preparation for more of it and turn human energies to the constructiveness of peace.

"Not all the world is yet tranquilized. But here is the example, to imbue with new hope all who dwell in apprehension. At this table came understanding, and understanding brands armed conflict as abominable in the eyes of enlightened civilization.

"I once believed in armed preparedness. I advocated it. But I have come now to believe there is better preparedness in a public mind and a world opinion made ready to grant justice precisely as it exacts it. And justice is better served in conferences of peace than in conflicts at arms.

"How simple it all has been! When you met here twelve weeks ago there was not a commitment, not an obligation except that which each delegation owed to the government commissioning it. But human service was calling, world conscience was impelling and world opinion directing.

"No intrigue, no offensive or defensive alliances, no involvements have wrought your agreements, but reasoning with each other to common understanding has made new relationships among governments and peoples, new securities for peace and new opportunities for achievement and attending happiness.

"It may be that the naval holiday here contracted will expire with the treaties, but I do not believe it. Those of us who live another decade are more likely to witness a growth of public opinion, strengthened by the new experience, which will make nations more concerned with living to the fulfillment of God's high intent than with agencies of warfare and destruction.

"Since this conference of nations has pointed with unanimity to the way of peace today, like conferences in the future, under appropriate conditions and with aims both well conceived and definite, may illumine the highways and byways of human activity. The torches of understanding have been lighted and they ought to glow and encircle the globe."

TREATIES LAID BEFORE SENATE

The seven treaties negotiated at the limitation of armament conference were laid before the United States Senate by President Harding in person on February 10, 1922. The documents submitted were:

1. The covenant of limitation to naval armament between America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan.
2. The treaty between the same powers in relation to the use of submarines and noxious gases in warfare.
3. The treaty between the United States, the British Empire, France and Japan relating to their insular possessions and their insular dominions in the Pacific.
4. A declaration accompanying the four-power treaty reserving American rights in mandated territory.
5. An agreement supplementary to the four-power treaty defining the application of the term "insular possessions and insular dominions" as relating to Japan.
6. A treaty between the nine powers in the conference relating to principles and policies to be followed in matters concerning China.
7. A treaty between the nine powers relating to Chinese customs tariff.

President Harding also submitted the minutes of the conference, including both plenary sessions and committee meetings and the report of the American delegates.

SENATE ACTION ON TREATIES

The treaties were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. On February 27 they were reported back by Senator Lodge with resolutions that the Senate advise and consent to their ratification. They were placed on the calendar and on March 1 the treaty signed by the United States, the British Empire, France and Japan, generally known as the "four-power treaty," was taken up in open executive session. It was debated until March 24, when it was ratified by a vote of 67 to 27, or four more than the required two-thirds. Most of the opposition came from a small group of Republican Senators known as "irreconcilables," the most active being Borah of Idaho, Johnson of California and La Follette of Wisconsin. They were assisted by a number of democrats led by Robinson of Arkansas. The leading champions of the treaty were Lodge of Massachusetts, republican, and Underwood of Alabama, democrat, both members of the American delegation at the Washington conference.

The four-power treaty was finally ratified by the Senate with a slight amendment on March 24, 1922, by a vote of 67 to 22. The treaty limiting naval armament met with little opposition and was ratified on March 29 by a vote of 74 to 1, Senator France of Maryland, a Republican, casting the negative vote. On the same day by a vote of 71 to 0 the Senate ratified the treaty relating to the use of submarines and noxious gases in warfare. The nine-power treaty embracing principles and policies to be followed in matters relating to China was ratified on March 30 by a vote of 65 to 0 and on the same day the treaty between the nine powers relating to the Chinese customs tariff was approved by a vote of 58 to 1. This completed the work of ratifying all the treaties adopted by the Washington conference.

CHAPTER XIV.

BUDGET SYSTEM ADOPTED

First Federal Budget Sent to Congress—The President's Message of Transmittal—Purpose of the Budget—The First Director of the Budget Bureau—An Annual Business Program of Expenditures—Defects in Government Methods—Co-ordinating Agencies Established by Executive Order.

Establishment of the budget system for the control of government expenditures was, as already noted, one of the outstanding achievements of the Harding administration.

The first Federal budget was sent to Congress on December 5, 1921, with the following message from President Harding:

"I submit herewith the budget of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923. It will be noted that the estimated ordinary expenditures for 1922 show a reduction of \$1,513,537,682.20, compared with the actual ordinary expenditures for 1921; and that the estimated ordinary expenditures for 1923 show a reduction of \$447,704,239 under 1922, making the estimated ordinary expenditures under the budget for 1923 \$1,961,241,921.20 less than the actual ordinary expenditures for 1921.

"Including transactions in the principal of the public debt and investments of trust funds, the total estimated expenditures for 1922 show a reduction under the total actual expenditures for 1921 of \$1,570,118,323.30, and the total estimated expenditures for 1923 show a reduction of \$462,167,639 under the total estimated expenditures for 1922, making a reduction in total expen-

ditures in the estimated budget for 1923, as compared with the total actual expenditures for 1921, of \$2,032,285,962.30.

"It will also be noted that the total estimated receipts for 1922 are in approximate balance with the total estimated expenditures, including reduction in the principal of the public debt, and that the total estimated receipts for 1923 are within approximately \$150,000,000 of a balance with the total estimated expenditures of that year. Such a discrepancy is unavoidable, when authorizations of expenditure are being enacted during the process of budget closing, but ways are provided for relatively easy adjustment without added taxation.

"For the purpose of providing a portion of the funds necessary to balance the budget for 1923, in which the estimated expenditures exceed the estimated receipts by the sum of approximately \$150,000,000, I recommend the following legislation in connection with the naval appropriation bill for 1923, which would result in the eventual automatic release of \$100,000,000 now held in the naval supply account of the navy department:

" 'Hereafter, until the naval supply account shall have been reduced to a maximum sum of \$150,000,000, which shall not thereafter be exceeded, one-half of all reimbursements otherwise due to the naval supply account, whether from current issues or from sales, shall be covered into the treasury as miscellaneous receipts, and only one-half shall be credited to the naval supply account.'

"With the continued pressure for economy in all departments and the passage of such legislation, the balancing of total receipts and total expenditures for the fiscal years 1922 and 1923 should be accomplished.

"I also transmit herewith the report of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget on the budget of the United States and the operations of the Bureau of the Budget.

"WARREN G. HARDING."

The purpose of the budget was explained by Charles G. Dawes, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, in the report referred to by President Harding, as follows:

"In presenting the budget of the United States for the fiscal year 1923, covering the sum of \$3,505,754,727, in compliance with the requirements of the budget act, the Director of the Budget has prepared it upon the basis of the amount of cash which must actually be withdrawn from the treasury during the fiscal year 1923.

"The method of appropriation of money heretofore followed has resulted in a condition of things under which it is almost impossible for either the Executive, Congress, or the Secretary of the Treasury to have before them a true picture of the fiscal condition of the Government at any particular time. Although Congress has by stringent penal law prohibited the creation of deficiencies and clearly indicated that its annual appropriations were intended to limit the amount to be expended for such period, yet millions of dollars have been annually spent by the departments above the estimates submitted at the beginning of the fiscal year, and in recent years, due to the great sums appropriated in connection with the war, hundreds of millions of dollars have been so expended by the departments, a course made possible by deficiency and supplemental appropriations, the existence of revolving funds and unexpended balances. * * *

"The whole habit of making continuous appropriations to which the Government has been committed in the past is only an encouragement to a lack of scrutiny of public work by the head of the department under which it is carried on, and an encouragement to shiftlessness and carelessness on the part of the subordinates more directly concerned in it. The more rigid the system under which continuous attention to the conduct of the business of government is made mandatory on the part of Congress and the business administration the more efficient will be the conduct of government.

"Finally, this system of preparing the budget will confine the attention of the Executive, of Congress and of the public to the one great important question, to wit, the relation of the money actually to be spent by the Government to the money actually to be received by the Government in any given year, all its outstanding obligations and definite commitments, projects and enterprises considered. This will enable Congress, with more intelligence, to determine at any time both the necessity for retrenchment and the ability of the Government to engage in additional projects to be initiated by Congress outside of the budgetary provisions. * * *

"The purpose of the budget act is to enable the President, as the responsible head of the administration of the Government, to present to Congress an annual business program which shall contain the necessary information concerning the financial requirements of all the departments and establishments of the Government, and the resources from which this program of expenditures may be met, in such form as clearly to indicate the application of business principles to the Government's administrative activities."

Mr. Dawes in his report called attention to about a dozen serious defects in the business methods of the corporation (Government), arising mainly from the fact that the President of the corporation gave practically no attention to its ordinary routine business. He then specifies the following agencies, established by executive order, which are engaged in co-ordinating, in all matters of routine business, the activities of the separate departments and establishments:

1. The Federal Purchasing Board.
2. The Federal Liquidation Board.
3. The organization of corps area co-ordinators for the entire country.
4. Surveyor-General of Real Estate.

5. Federal Motor Transport Agent.
6. The Federal Traffic Board.
7. The Federal Board of Hospitalization.
8. The Federal Specifications Board.
9. The General Supply Committee.

In carrying into effect the plan for the budget system, President Harding was fortunate in his selection of Charles G. Dawes, now a Chicago banker, as the first Director of the Bureau of the Budget. Mr. Dawes rendered invaluable services to the American expeditionary forces in Europe during the World War, for which he emerged with the rank of brigadier-general. The general nature of his services was described in the following citation by Marshal Foch of France, in bestowing upon him the War Cross of the French Republic:

"During the course of operations in 1918 Gen. Dawes obtained a complete union of supplies between the American and French armies. By his breadth of spirit and his constant effort to put upon a common basis the resources of the two armies, he permitted to be realized under the best possible conditions a community of effort which resulted in the victory over the Germans."

The record of any Federal administration might satisfactorily rest upon such an accomplishment as the establishment of economy in the departmental expenditures of the Government; but this was only one of the achievements of President Harding's "two years."

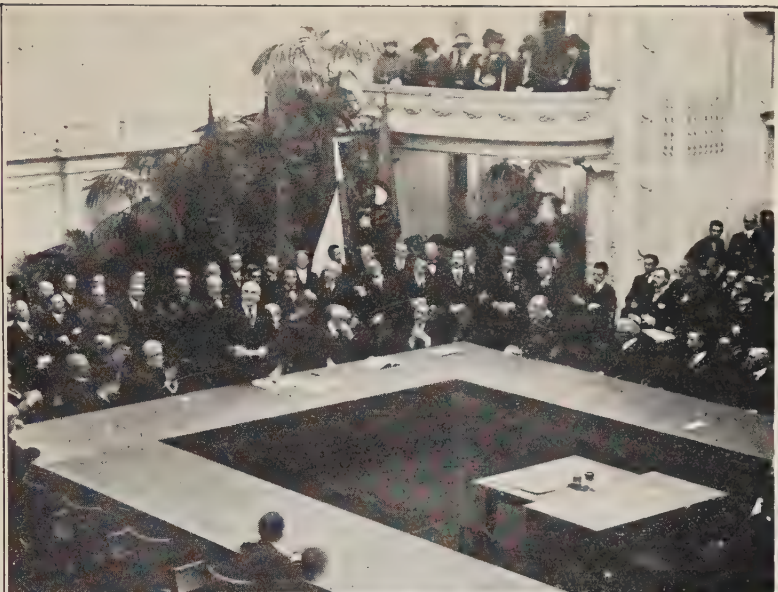


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Above—President Harding Reading His Farewell Message to the Arms Conference at Washington in February, 1922.
Below—Left to Right, Vice-President Coolidge, Chief Justice Taft, President Harding, Robert Todd Lincoln (son of Abraham Lincoln), and "Uncle Joe" Cannon, at the Dedication of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington.



President and Mrs. Harding, with Vice-President and Mrs. Calvin Coolidge in Washington on the Eve of Inauguration Day, March 4, 1921. Mr. Coolidge Became the 30th President of the United States on the Death of President Harding.

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CHAPTER XV.

SHIP SUBSIDY MESSAGE

The Merchant Marine and National Welfare—End of the Wooden Fleet—United States Once a Maritime Leader—Three Courses Possible—An Appeal to Save the Treasury—Benefit to All Sections—Transport of Ocean Mails—A Typical State Paper.

President Harding, according to his custom, appeared before a joint session of Congress on February 28, 1922, and delivered a stirring address on the need of government aid to the American Merchant Marine. At another joint session of the houses of Congress on November 21, 1922, the President delivered the following message, recapitulating the arguments for the passage of a pending bill on the subject, which, however, was finally defeated in the closing days of the 67th Congress in March, 1923. In his message, which in its style was typical of his state papers, President Harding said:

Members of the Congress: Late last February I reported to you relative to the American merchant marine, and recommended legislation which the executive branch of the Government deemed essential to promote our merchant marine and with it our national welfare. Other problems were pressing and other questions pending, and for one reason or another, which need not be recited, the suggested legislation has not progressed beyond a favorable recommendation by the House committee.

The committee has given the question a full and painstaking

inquiry and study, and I hope its favorable report speedily will be given the force of law.

It will be helpful in clearing the atmosphere if we start with the frank recognition of divided opinion and determined opposition. It is no new experience. Like proposals have divided the Congress on various previous occasions. Perhaps a more resolute hostility never was manifest before, and I am very sure the need for decisive action—decisive, favorable action—never was so urgent before.

We are not dealing with a policy founded on theory; we have a problem which is one of grim actuality. We are facing insistent conditions, out of which will come either additional and staggering governmental losses and national impotence on the seas or else the unfurling of the flag on a great American merchant marine commensurate with our commercial importance, to serve as carrier of our cargoes in peace and meet the necessities of our defense in war.

There is no thought here and now to magnify the relation of a merchant marine to our national defense. It is enough to recall that we entered the world war almost wholly dependent on our allies for transportation by sea. We expended approximately \$3,000,000,000, feverishly, extravagantly, wastefully and impractically. Out of our eagerness to make up for the omissions of peace and to meet the war emergency we builded and otherwise acquired the best merchant fleet, which the Government owns today.

In the simplest way I can say it, our immediate problem is not to build and support a merchant shipping, which I hold to be one of the highest and most worthy aspirations of any great people; our problem is to deal with what we now possess. Our problem is to relieve the public treasury of the drain it is already meeting.

Let us omit particulars about the frenzied war-time building. Possibly we did fully as well as could have been done in the

anxious circumstances. Let us pass for the moment the vital relationship between a merchant marine and a commercially aspiring nation. Aye, let us suppose for a moment the absurdity that with one \$3,000,000,000 experience and with the incalculable costs in lives and treasure which may be chargeable to our inability promptly to apply our potency—which God forefend happening again—let us momentarily ignore all of these and turn to note the mere business problem, the practical question of dollars and cents with which we are confronted.

END OF THE WOODEN FLEET

The war construction and the later completion of war contracts, where completion was believed to be the greater economy to the public treasury, left us approximately 13,200,000 gross tonnage in ships. The figures are nearer 12,500,000 tons now, owing to the scrapping of the wooden fleet. More than half this tonnage is Government-owned and approximately 2,250,000 tons are under Government operation in one form or another.

The net loss to the United States Treasury—sums actually taken therefrom in this government operation—averaged approximately \$16,000,000 per month during the year prior to the assumption of responsibility by the present administration. A constant warfare on this loss of public funds and the draft to service of capable business management and experienced operating directors have resulted in applied efficiency and enforced economics.

It is very gratifying to report the diminution of the losses to \$4,000,000 per month, or a total of \$50,000,000 a year, but it is intolerable that the Government should continue a policy from which so enormous a treasury loss is the inevitable outcome. This loss, moreover, attends operation of less than a third of the Government-owned fleet.

It is not, therefore, a question of adding new treasury burdens to maintain our shipping; we are paying these burdens now. It

is not a question of contracting an outlay to support our merchant shipping, because we are paying already. I am not asking your authorization of a new and added draft on the public treasury; I am appealing for a program to diminish the burden we are already bearing.

When your executive Government knows of public expenditures aggregating \$50,000,000 annually, which it believes could be reduced by half through a change of policy, your Government would be unworthy of public trust if such a change were not commended; nay, if it were not insistently urged.

And the pity of it is that our present expenditure in losses is not constructive. It looks to no future attainments. It is utterly ineffective in the establishment of a dependable merchant marine, whereas the encouragement of private ownership and the application of individual initiative would make for a permanent creation, ready and answerable at all times to the needs of the nation.

NO REPLACEMENT PROVISION

But I have not properly portrayed all the current losses to the public this year. We are wearing out our ships without any provision for replacement. We are having these losses through deterioration now and are charging nothing against our capital account. But the losses are there, and regrettably larger under Government operation than under private control.

Only a few years of continued losses on capital account will make these losses through depreciation alone exceed the \$50,000,000 a year now drawn to cover losses in operation.

The gloomy picture of losses does not end even there. Notwithstanding the known war cost is \$3,000,000,000 for the present tonnage, I will not venture to appraise its cash value today.

It may as well be confessed now as at some later time that in the mad rush to build, in establishing shipyards wherever men would organize to expend Government money, when we made

shipbuilders overnight, quite without regard to previous occupations or pursuits, we builded poorly, often very poorly. Moreover, we constructed without any formulated programme for a merchant marine. The war emergency impelled and the cry was for ships, any kind of ships.

The error is recalled in regret rather than in criticism. The point is that our fleet, costing approximately \$3,000,000,000, is worth only a fraction of that cost today. Whatever that fraction may be, the truth remains that we have no market in which to sell the ships under our present policy, and a programme of surrender and sacrifice and the liquidation which is inevitable unless the pending legislation is sanctioned will cost scores of millions more.

U. S. ONCE A MARITIME LEADER

When the question is asked, Why the insistence for the Merchant Marine Act now? the answer is apparent. Waiving every inspiration which lies in a constructive plan for maintaining our flag on the commercial highways of the seas, waiving the prudence in safeguarding against another \$3,000,000,000 madness, if war ever again impels, we have the unavoidable task of wiping out a \$50,000,000 annual loss in operation and losses aggregating many hundreds of millions in wornout, sacrificed or scrapped shipping.

Then the supreme humiliation, the admission that the United States—our America, once eminent among the maritime nations of the world—is incapable of asserting itself in the peace triumphs on the seas of the world. It would seem to me doubly humiliating when we own the ships and fail in the genius and capacity to turn their prows toward the marts of the world.

This problem cannot longer be ignored, its attempted solution cannot longer be postponed. The failure of Congress to act decisively will be no less disastrous than adverse action.

THREE COURSES POSSIBLE

Three courses of action are possible and the choice among them is no longer to be avoided.

The first is constructive—enact the pending bill, under which I firmly believe an American merchant marine, privately owned and privately operated but serving all the people and always available to the Government in any emergency, may be established and maintained.

The second is obstructive—continue Government operation and attending Government losses and discourage private enterprise by Government competition, under which losses are met by the public treasury, and witness the continued losses and deterioration until the colossal failure ends in sheer exhaustion.

The third is destructive—involving the sacrifice of our ships abroad or the scrapping of them at home, the surrender of our aspirations and the confession of our impotence to the world in general and our humiliation before the competing world in particular.

A choice among the three is inevitable. It is unbelievable that the American people or the Congress which expresses their power will consent to surrender and destruction. It is equally unbelievable that our people and the Congress which translates their wishes into action will longer sustain a programme of obstruction and attending losses to the Treasury.

I have come to urge the constructive alternative, to reassert an American "we will." I have come to ask you to relieve the responsible administrative branch of the Government from a programme upon which failure and hopelessness and staggering losses are written for every page and let us turn to a programme of assure shipping to serve us in war and to give guaranty to our commercial independence in peace.

I know full well the hostility in the popular mind to the word "subsidy." It is stressed by the opposition and associated with

"special privilege" by those who are unfailing advocates of Government aid whenever vast numbers are directly concerned. "Government aid" would be a fairer term than "subsidy" in defining what we are seeking to do for our merchant marine, and the interests are those of all the people, even though the aid goes to the few who serve.

If Government aid is a fair term—and I think it is—to apply to authorizations aggregating \$75,000,000 to promote good roads for market highways, it is equally fit to be applied to the establishment and maintenance of American market highways on the salted seas. If Government aid is the proper definition for \$15,000,000 to \$40,000,000 annually expended to improve and maintain inland waterways in aid of commerce, it is a proper designation for a needed assistance to establish and maintain ocean highways where there is actual commerce to be carried.

TO SAVE THE TREASURY

But call it "subsidy," since there are those who prefer to appeal to mistaken prejudice rather than make frank and logical argument. We might so call the annual loss of \$50,000,000 which we are paying now without protest by those who most abhor the word; we might as well call that a "subsidy." If so I am proposing to cut it in half, approximately, and to saving thus effected there would be added millions upon millions of further savings through ending losses on capital account—Government capital out of the public treasury, always remember—and there would be at least the promise and the prospect of the permanent establishment of the need merchant marine.

I challenge every insinuation of favored interests and the enrichment of the special few at the expense of the public treasury. I am, first of all, appealing to save the Treasury.

Perhaps the unlimited bestowal of Government aid might justify the apprehension of special favoring, but the pending bill, the first ever proposed which carried such a provision, auto-

matically guards against enrichment or perpetuated bestowal.

It provides that shipping lines receiving Government aid must have their actual investment and their operating expenses audited by the Government, that Government aid will only be paid until the shipping enterprise earns 10 per cent on actual capital employed and that immediately, when more than 10 per cent in earnings is reached, half of the excess earnings must be applied to the repayment of the Government aid which had been previously advanced.

Thus the possible earnings are limited to a very reasonable amount if capital is to be risked and management is to be attracted. If success attends, as we hope it will, the Government outlay is returned, the inspiration of opportunity to earn remains and American transportation by sea is established.

Though differing in detail it is not more in proportion to their population and capacity than other great nations have done in aiding the establishment of their merchant marines, and it is timely to recall that we gave them our commerce to aid in their upbuilding, while the American task now is to upbuild and establish in the face of their most active competition. Indeed, the American development will have to overcome every obstacle which may be put in our path, except as international comity forbids.

Concern about our policy is not limited to our own domains, though the interest abroad is of very differing character. I hope it is seemly to say, because it must be said, the maritime nations of the world are in complete accord with the opposition here to the pending measure. They have a perfect right to such an attitude. When we look from their viewpoint we can understand. But I wish to stress the American viewpoint.

Ours should be the viewpoint from which one sees American carriers at sea, the dependence of American commerce and American vessels of American reliance in the event of war.

Some of the costly lessons of war must be learned again and again, but our shipping lesson in the world war was much too costly to be effaced from the memory of this or future generations.

Not so many months ago the head of a company operating a fleet of ships under our flag called at the executive offices to discuss a permit to transfer his fleet of cargo vessels to a foreign flag, though he meant to continue them in a distinctly American service. He based his request for transfer on the allegation that by such a transfer he could reduce his labor costs alone sufficiently to provide a profit on capital invested. I do not vouch for the accuracy of the statement, nor mean to discuss it.

The allusion is made to recall that in good conscience Congress has created by law conditions surrounding labor on American ships which shipping men the world over declare result in higher costs of operation under our flag. I frankly rejoice if higher standards for labor on American ships have been established. Merest justice suggests that when Congress fixes these standards it is fair to extend government aid in maintaining them until world competition is brought to the same high level or until our shipping lines are so firmly established that they face world competition alone.

Having discussed in detail the policy and provisions of the pending bill when previously addressing you, I forbear repetition now. In individual exchanges of opinion not a man in House or Senate but has expressed personal sympathy with the purposes of the bill and then uttered a discouraging doubt about the sentiment of constituencies. It would be most discouraging if a measure of such transcending national importance must have its fate depend upon geographical, occupational, professional or partisan objections.

Frankly, I think it loftier statesmanship to support and commend a policy designed to effect the larger good to the nation

than merely to record the too hasty impressions of a constituency. Out of the harmonized aspiration, the fully informed convictions and the united efforts of all the people will come the greater republic.

BENEFIT TO ALL SECTIONS SEEN

Commercial eminence on the seas, ample agencies for the promotion and carrying of our foreign commerce are of no less importance to the people of the Mississippi and Missouri valleys, the great Northwest and the Rocky Mountain States than to the seaboard States and industrial communities building inland a thousand miles or more. It is a common cause with its benefits commonly shared.

When people fail in the national viewpoint and live in the confines in community selfishness or narrowness the sun of this republic will have passed its meridian and our larger aspirations will shrivel in the approaching twilight.

But let us momentarily put aside the aspiring and inspiring viewpoint. The blunt, indisputable fact of the loss of \$50,000,000 a year under Government operation remains; likewise, the fast-diminishing capital account, the enormous wartime expenditure, to which we were forced because we had not fittingly encouraged and builded as our commerce expanded in peace. Here are facts to deal with, not fancies wrought out of our political and economic disputes.

The abolition of the annual loss and the best salvage of the capital account are of concern to all the people.

It is my firm belief that the combined savings of operating losses and the protection of the capital account through more advantageous sales of our war-built or war-seized ships, because of the favorable policy which the pending bill will establish, will more than pay every dollar expended in Government aid for twenty-five years to come.

TRANSPORT OF OCEAN MAILS

It should be kept in mind that the approximate sum of \$5,000,000 annually paid for the transport of ocean mails is no new expenditure.

It should be kept in mind that the loan fund to encourage building is not new; it is the law already, enacted by the essentially unanimous vote of Congress. It is only included in the pending bill in order to amend it so as to assure the exaction of a minimum interest rate by the Government, whereas the existing law leaves the grant of building loans subject to any whim of favoritism.

It should be kept in mind also that there are assured limitations of the Government proposal. The direct aid with ocean carrying maintained at our present participation will not reach \$20,000,000 a year and the maximum direct aid, if our shipping is so promoted that we carry one-half our deep-seas commerce, will not exceed \$30,000,000 annually. At the very maximum of outlay we should be saving \$20,000,000 of our present annual operating loss. If the maximum is ever reached the establishment of our merchant marine will have been definitely recorded and the government-owned fleet fortunately liquidated.

From this point of view it is the simple, incontestable wisdom of businesslike dealing to save all that is possible of the annual loss and avoid the millions sure to be lost to the Government's capital account in sacrificing our fleet.

But there is a bigger, broader, more inspiring viewpoint—aye, a patriotic viewpoint. I refer to the constructive action of today, which offers the only dependable promise of making our war-time inheritance of ships the foundation of a great agency of commerce in peace and an added guaranty of service when it is necessary to our national defense.

Thus far I have been urging government aid to American shipping, having in mind every interest of our producing popu-

lation, whether of mine, factory or farm, because expanding commerce is the foremost thought of every nation in the world today.

I believe in Government aid becomingly bestowed. We have aided industry through our tariffs; we have aided railway transportation in land grants and loans; we have aided the construction of market roads and the improvement of inland waterways. We have aided reclamation and irrigation and the development of water power; we have loaned for seed grains in anticipation of harvest; we expend millions in investigation and experimentation to promote a common benefit, though a limited few are the direct beneficiaries. We have loaned hundreds of millions to promote the marketing of American goods. It has all been commendable and highly worth while.

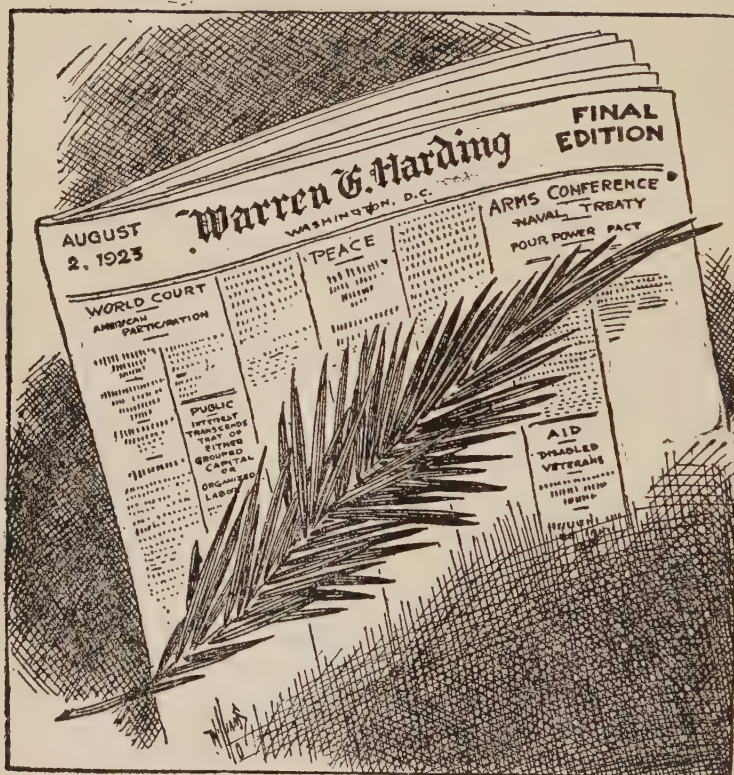
At the present moment the American farmer is the chief sufferer from the cruel readjustments which follow war's inflations, and befitting Government aid to our farmers is highly essential to our national welfare. No people may safely boast a good fortune which the farmer does not share.

Already this Congress and the administrative branch of the Government have given willing ear to the agricultural plea for post war relief and much has been done which has proved helpful. Admittedly it is not enough. Our credit system, under Government provision and control, must be promptly and safely broadened to relieve our agricultural distress. To this problem and such others of pressing importance as reasonably may be dealt with in the short session I shall invite your attention at an early day.

I have chosen to confine myself to the specific problem of dealing with our merchant marine, because I have asked you to assemble two weeks in advance of the regularly appointed time to expedite its consideration. The executive branch of the Government would feel itself remiss to contemplate our yearly loss

and attending failure to accomplish if the conditions were not pressed for your decision. More, I would feel myself lacking in concern for America's future if I failed to stress the beckoning opportunity to equip the United States to assume a befitting place among the nations of the world whose commerce is inseparable from the good fortunes to which rightfully all peoples aspire.

THE DAY IS DONE



—Cincinnati Enquirer.

CHAPTER XVI.

AN APOSTLE OF PEACE

Mr. Harding's Desire for World Amity—Recognized by the Nations as a Lover of Peace—Believed in the Golden Rule for All—Concluded Peace with Germany—Brought About Limitation of Armaments—Honest Advocacy of the World Court.

President Harding became known among his countrymen and the nations of the earth as an apostle of peace and a lover of concord. This side of his character was recognized clearly in all the summaries of his life and achievement that appeared in the domestic and foreign press after his death.

While the outstanding accomplishment of his Administration, in the opinion of most commentators, was the Disarmament Conference, it was further to promote his project of promoting international peace through American participation in a World Court of Justice that he devoted his most important speech-making efforts in that last trip across the country which fatally weakened his physical powers.

"The Washington Conference will go down in the brightest book of world history," said the New York World, a political opponent, "as the first great participation in a voluntary reduction of war machinery by the enlightened forces of civilization." At St. Louis President Harding cried: "My soul yearns for peace," and it is universally agreed that "this yearning was not merely the statesman's policy," said the Literary Digest, "but the spontaneous revelation of the nature of the man."

To the last, said a correspondent who accompanied him on his trip to Alaska, Warren G. Harding maintained "that patience and understanding eventually would dispose of all questions for the best interests of the American people." The dominant characteristic of our twenty-ninth President, said Oscar S. Straus, who knew many Presidents well, "was to bring peace and happiness to all our people." "He left with the people he loved a rare example of gentleness in high office," declared Secretary Hughes, the chief of his Cabinet, while a member of Congress affirmed that "next to Lincoln, Harding was the most human man who ever occupied the executive chair."

Peace on earth was not a mere dream with Mr. Harding, but a definite and desirable object which he believed the nations might attain by universal consideration and the same observance of the Golden Rule which maintains concord among men in community life and as individuals. One of his earliest achievements was the conclusion of formal peace with Germany and Austria, and as he claimed in his last message to the people, "we have strengthened our friendly relationships and have done much to promote peace in the world."

In his speech at St. Louis, at the beginning of his Alaskan trip, President Harding defended his suggestion for the participation of the United States in the World Court and declared that the League issue was dead. He said:

"If the country had desired to join the League, in 1920 it had its opportunity. It most emphatically refused. It would refuse again, no less decisively, today. * * * In the face of the overwhelming verdict of 1920, therefore, the issue of the League of Nations is as dead as slavery. Is it not the part of wisdom and common sense to let it rest in the deep grave to which it has been consigned and turn our thoughts to living things?"

Referring to the World Court, the President said:

"But let there be no misunderstanding. I did not say three

years ago, and I do not say now, that there is no element in the League organization which might be used advantageously in striving to establish helpful, practical co-operation among the nations of the earth. On the contrary, I recognized generally then, and perceive more precisely now, rudiments of good in both the League and The Hague Tribunal.

“Having marked the fundamental difference between a Court of International Justice, which I espoused, and the Council set up by the League Covenant, which I disapproved, as the difference between a government of laws and a government of men, I said plainly on Aug. 28, 1920: ‘I would take and combine all that is good and excise all that is bad from both organizations.’

“That is what I am now proposing to do. The abstract principle of a World Court found its genesis in the Hague Tribunal. The concrete application of that principle has been made by the League. Sound theory and admirable practice have been joined successfully. The court itself is not only firmly established, but has clearly demonstrated its utility and efficiency.”

President Harding concluded his last message to the people, which was given out at San Francisco two days before his death, with the following plea for the World Court:

“I have thus far made no allusion to the hungering of humanity for new assurances that the world may be equally blest. Peace ought to be the supreme blessing to all mankind. Armed warfare is abhorrent to the ideal civilization. Nations ought no more need resort to force in the settlement of their disputes or differences than do men in this enlightened day. Out of this conviction, out of my belief in a penitent world, craving for the agencies of peace, out of the inevitable Presidential contact with the World War’s havoc and devastation and the measureless sorrow, which attended and has followed. I would be insensible to duty and violate all the sentiments of my heart and all my convictions

if I failed to urge American support of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

"I do not know that such a Court will be unfailing in the avoidance of war, but I know it is a step in the right direction and will prove an advance toward international peace for which the reflective conscience of mankind is calling."

Whatever may be said or done by the American people in future, in regards to participation in the World Court, there can be no doubt that President Harding's courageous advocacy of such a step was dictated solely by his earnest desire for world amity. He was indeed an apostle of peace and a lover of concord.

CHAPTER XVII.

A GREAT FRATERNALIST

Member of Many Loyal and Useful Fraternities—A Firm Believer in the Fraternal Spirit and Fraternal Work—High Ideal of Fraternalism—Notable Addresses on the Brotherhood of Men—His Last Message to His Brethren.

Warren G. Harding was a firm believer in the brotherhood of man. He was a truly great devotee and apostle of fraternalism. In his life and character he embodied the spirit of brotherly love, relief, and truth, which are leading tenets of all fraternal belief.

By some he has been called colloquially "a great joiner," for he was a member of many fraternal bodies and orders. But the fact that he joined numerous brotherhoods from time to time during his busy life simply demonstrated the fact that he loved to associate with his fellow-men and to greet them as brothers, companions, and fellows. As a Mason, a Knight of Pythias, an Elk, a Moose, and member of other orders devoted to the uplift of man and pure benevolence, he found good in all of them and enjoyed the association which they foster.

President Harding was a member of Marion Lodge No. 70, Free and Accepted Masons, being raised late in the campaign of 1920. His advance in the Masonic bodies was rapid. He reached the chapter, Royal Arch and council soon after becoming a "blue lodge" Mason.

Prior to his inauguration he made a special trip to Marion, Ohio, to receive the Commandery (Knights Templar) orders, and his knighting was made a special conclave and reunion of Knights Templar from all sections of the United States. The Grand

Commander of the United States and many of his officers were present.

During 1920 the late President also received the Scottish Rite degrees in Columbus at a special meeting of Scioto Valley Consistory. He also joined the Ancient Arabic Order, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, the Grotto, the Tall Cedars of Lebanon and other Masonic bodies.

President Harding held Masonry in high regard and at all the meetings where he received degrees preached the lessons taught by Jesus Christ.

Death prevented realization of one of President Harding's most cherished ambitions—attainment of the thirty-third degree of Free Masonry. He was elected to receive this honor in 1922, but the illness of Mrs. Harding prevented his attending the rendezvous of the Supreme Council of Scottish Rite Masons for the Northern Jurisdiction in Cleveland, Ohio, that year, and rules of the fraternity require that the degree may only be conferred upon a candidate in person.

By unanimous vote of members of the Supreme Council the time was extended one year, and he was to have received the "crown" at a meeting of the Council in New York City in the autumn of 1923.

The President was nominated for this greatest of Masonic honors by members in Ohio, where he had his membership in the thirty-second degree in Scioto Valley Consistory.

President Harding was a member of Aladdin Temple, Mystic Shrine, of Columbus, O., and was the recipient of unusual honors upon the occasion of the Shrine convention in Washington in June, 1923. The President entered heartily into the festive spirit of the gathering and not only participated in the formal meetings of the convention, making a notable address, but joined the merry-makers in the evenings on Pennsylvania Avenue, mingling

in a most happy and democratic manner with the throngs of fellow-Shriners.

Albert Pike Masonic Lodge No. 36, of Washington, D. C., made him an honorary life member on April 4, 1921, and presented him with a gold card of membership.

"The passing of President Harding is a national calamity," said Hon. John H. Cowles, Grand Commander, Scottish Rite, Southern Jurisdiction. "His death at this time of crisis in international affairs is bound to have far-reaching consequences, the full effect of which time only will reveal.

"As Masons we are primarily interested in a man's character, and while citizens honestly disagree concerning national policies, there is a unanimous conviction that in all those qualities of heart and mind that constitute sterling manhood, the late President was pre-eminent. Of unimpeachable integrity, of noblest patriotism, of gentle and kindly personality, President Harding stands out a typical American, of whom the nation may well be proud. He is the example of high-principled manhood we like to hold before our boys for emulation.

"Such men as he reflect honor upon the Masonic fraternity, and furnish an inspiration to us who remain to be truer to our ideals and more worthy of the privilege and obligations of Master Masons."

LAST ADDRESS TO TEMPLARS

On the day of President Harding's death, August 2, 1923, his secretary, George B. Christian, Jr., acting as his substitute, on account of the President's illness, presented to Hollywood Commandery 56, Knights Templar, the international traveling Beauseant of the order. Secretary Christian read the speech the President had prepared for the presentation.

The international traveling Beauseant is a banner symbolic of the great order, which originated in the crusades of the first Knights Templar. The banner came from the Priory of Canada

and was started on its trip around the world when it was presented to a Commandery at Buffalo. It was taken to Hollywood, Cal., by members of President Harding's Commandery at Marion, Ohio.

Speaking in the Hollywood Bowl, a natural amphitheatre in the hills, Secretary Christian, reading the President's prepared address, said:

"I gladly and proudly join in sending this banner on its highly purposed journey, which is to continue probably beyond the span of lives of those here assembled. Wherever it inspires more of real brotherhood, more of devotion to Christ's simplest teachings, it will not have been borne in vain.

"I charge that it shall not be held as a banner of militant force, not as a memorial of deeds of arms, not as a mere piece of ritualistic pageantry, but as the symbol of brotherhood, raised to the glory of our Grand Commander, whose law was love, whose reign was peace, and for whom the herald angels sang: 'Glory to God in the Highest; on Earth Peace and Good-Will Toward Men.'

"It was a beautiful idea which brought about a reproduction of the banner under which the Knights of the Holy Grail went forth to battle to the death with the Saracens for the restoration of the Holy Land and its shrines to Christian hands and to send it on a pilgrimage to the temples of the latter-day Christian knights to reawaken or reanimate their faith and devotion. The reproduced Beauseant will not encounter the storms, the fanaticism and the romances of knighthood which attended the original banner, but I trust its journey will encounter no less of conscience and no less of noble purpose."

After tracing the history of the Beauseant down through the ages, Mr. Christian read:

"I am sure the mission of the Beauseant will be a failure if its travels are made simply a matter of symbolism and pageantry.

It bears emblazoned upon it the supplication: 'Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us; but unto Thy name be the glory.'

"We should glorify the holy name not by words, not by praise, not by display at arms, but by deeds and service in behalf of human brotherhood. Christ, the great exemplar of our order, repeatedly urged this truth upon His hearers. There was nothing mythical or mystical in the code of living preached by Jesus Christ. The lessons He taught were so simple and plain, so fashioned to be marked by the humblest among men, that they appealed to the reasons and emotions of all. His words to the fishermen bore conviction to the learned men of the Roman bench.

"All of His teachings were based upon the broad ground of fraternalism, and justice, and understanding, from which flows always peace. 'A new commandment I give unto you—that ye love one another.' Surely in this was 'all the law and the gospels.' I make bold to say, in reflective deliberation, there is nothing in Templar knighthood, nothing in obligation, lecture, or exemplification, nothing in practice where obligation is kept, which could not be openly, and with equal simplicity, proclaimed to the world.

"I am a confirmed optimist as to the growth of the spirit of brotherhood. Science and genius are lending their aid to the removal of the obstacles to intercourse and attending understandings among the peoples of the world. We do rise to heights, at times, when we look for the good rather than the evil in others, and give consideration to the views of all. The inherent love of fellowship is banding men together and when envy and suspicion are vanquished fraternity records a triumph, and brotherhood brings new blessings to men and to peoples in the larger sense.

"Because I am holding temporarily a position of official prominence I have been privileged in being invited into association with many of our so-called secret, fraternal societies, I find that

each of them has as its foundation and the reason for its existence the furtherance of brotherhood and the Christian virtues of charity, mercy, justice, and brotherly love. Moreover, the practice of these virtues has been suggested by the ways of happiness in the daily lives of men. For example—and I am sure it will be no breach of faith to relate it—I was admitted into a fraternity of Alaskan pioneers and I was obligated never to kick a dog or to work a horse with a sore back or shoulder.

“Now that was a simple thing that Christ himself would have urged; it was an expression of mercy and affection by these pioneers for the brutes who could not speak a protest, of considerate concern for a life of service. On the whole I am well persuaded that many tenders of fellowship have come to me because men wish to have practised in official life the teachings of brotherhood and friendship and sympathy which have sweetened their own pathways.

“All of these fraternities are doing fine and helpful work, and adding a redolent bloom to the gardens of human fellowship.”

While a number of Masons, including George Washington, have been President, Mr. Harding was the first Elk to reach the White House. He was a member of Marion Lodge, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. William J. Sinek, Exalted Ruler of Chicago Lodge, B. P. O. E., said of him:

“President Harding was an enthusiastic member of the Elks. He was notable throughout the 1,500 lodges of the country for the warm, sympathetic eloquence of his addresses at our memorial exercises. His loss is perhaps all the more bewildering because of its suddenness. President Harding typified every quality of citizenship and American manhood for which the B. P. O. Elks stands.”

Hon. James J. Davis of Pittsburgh, Director-General of the Loyal Order of Moose, of which the late President was also a

member, was appointed by Mr. Harding as Secretary of Labor in his Cabinet, and was serving in that capacity when the President died.

Thousands of lodges of various orders throughout the United States and Canada took official cognizance of his death and lamented the great loss to fraternalism.

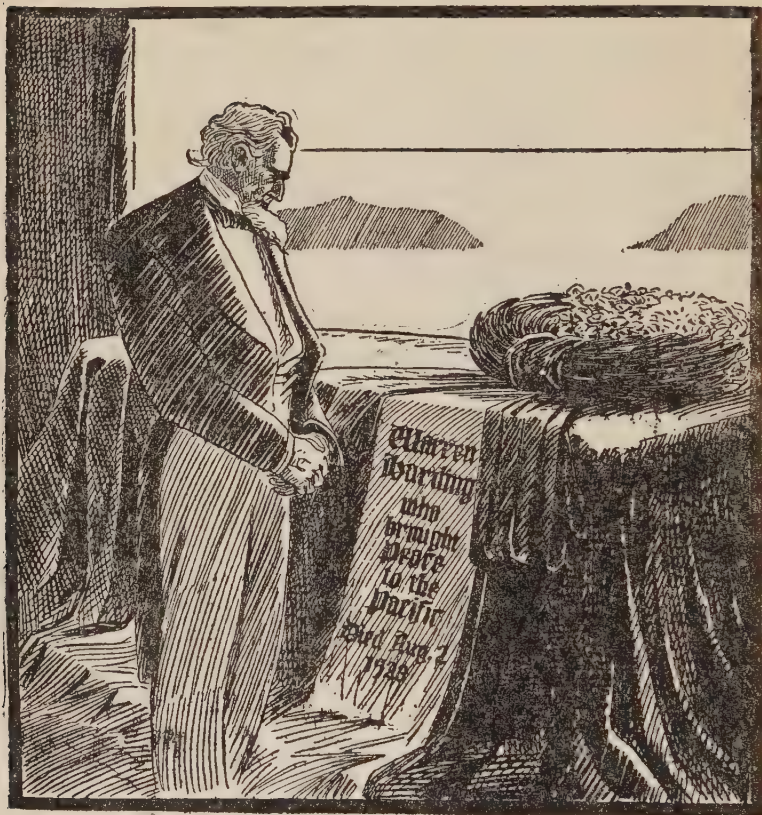
Members of the party that traveled with Mr. Harding on his last trip across the country, recalled after his death that he spoke from the rear platform of his railroad car on the Sunday morning when he arrived at Colorado Springs, Colo., in an evangelistic vein that illustrated his character. On this occasion, the then Chief Executive said:

"I tell you, my countrymen, the world needs more of the Christ; the world needs the spirit of the Man of Nazareth, and if we could bring into the relationships of humanity among ourselves and among the nations of the world the brotherhood that was taught by the Christ, we would have a restored world; we would have little or none of war, and we would have a new hope for humanity throughout the earth.

"There never was a greater lesson taught than that of the Golden Rule. I would almost be willing to wipe out the other commandments."

ON THE SHORES OF THE PACIFIC

(Copyright: 1923: By The Chicago Tribune.)



—Chicago Tribune.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A TRUE SPORTSMAN

Lover of Sports from Boyhood—His Interest in Baseball—League Games Suspended in Tribute to His Memory—Tributes from Baseball Magnates and Players—A Devotee of Golf, Which He Played Regularly for His Health—Always Fond of Dogs—"Laddie Boy" and His Master.

Warren G. Harding was a keen follower of clean sports, and an active participant in them throughout his life. He was an ardent baseball fan, and was much interested in the Washington club of the American League. It had been his custom, during his official residence in Washington, to attend the opening baseball game of the season, when permitted by affairs of state. His interest in baseball as a red-blooded American pastime was illustrated by one of his last remarks shortly before his death, when he was said to have shown his interest in the Cincinnati National League club by inquiring "How did the Reds come out today?"

A noted Chicago writer on sports said on the night of the nation's loss: "President Harding was the first baseball fan of the nation and the first golfer. A lover of sport from youth, hunter, fisherman, ball player and in later life a horseback rider and golfer, he maintained his love of sport to the end.

"The President ceased to be a ball player the year he was elected to be President. He played first base in a charity game at Marion and retired after one finger had been bugged up by a thrown ball, and with a batting average of 1,000.

Mr. Harding was the first baseman of the Marion, Ohio, club when a boy, and after he had become prominent in politics and was editor of the *Star*, he was part owner of the Marion Baseball Club, taking an active interest in the team and the players.

"One of his 'finds' was Wilbur Cooper, of the Pittsburgh club. Cooper was Harding's favorite with the Marion team and he made a trip to Cleveland to urge the owners of the club to obtain the services of the left hander.

"The President was a rooter for the Cincinnati Reds and frequently attended games in Cincinnati. After his election to the Presidency he stated that he would root for the Washington team, but that he reserved the right to root for the Reds in case of world's series combats. The news that he was inquiring concerning the score of the Reds' game a few moments before his death was not a surprise to those who knew his love of the national sport.

"As a golfer President Harding was just below the 'dub' class and a consistent 'under 100' player. The President took up golf late in life and, with the exception of horseback riding, it was his physical exercise after entering the Senate. The foursome which attracted the most attention consisted of Harding, Senator Joe Frelinghuysen, Senator Frederick Hale, and George Christian. They played the Chevy Chase course at Washington and frequently played Frelinghuysen's home course, Raritan Valley, at Somerville, N. J.

"As a young man Harding was well known as a fisherman and hunter, and after entering the Senate he enjoyed duck hunting on the Eastern Shore of Maryland."

Organized baseball suspended all games out of respect for President Harding on the day after his death. Judge Kenesaw M. Landis, commissioner of baseball, telegraphed the following statement to all major and minor league clubs:

"It is the sentiment throughout baseball that no games be played either today or on the day of the funeral of the late President. And as a further mark of respect to his memory flags at all parks will be displayed at half-mast until after the burial."

President John M. Heydler of the National Baseball League, ordered all players in the league to wear a mark of mourning on the arm until after the funeral of President Harding. He also ordered the suspension of play on the day the late President was buried, and sent a message to Mrs. Harding in which he expressed the sympathy of the National League, and declared that "baseball never had a better friend than Mr. Harding."

President B. B. Johnson telegraphed all club executives of the American League to call off championship contests scheduled for August 3, and a similar request was flashed by President Thomas J. K. Hickey to officials of the American Association. Similar action was taken by minor leagues throughout the country.

August Herrmann, president of the Cincinnati National League club, said that baseball had lost one of its truest friends in the death of President Harding. "Like so many of our statesmen, the President was a real baseball fan," Mr. Herrmann said. "He found relaxation and genuine pleasure in the game, and the sport loses one of its truest friends."

Yachting, racing, rowing, tennis and other sporting events scheduled for August 3 were also postponed out of respect for the dead President. The day was one of genuine mourning in the sporting world over the passing of a true sportsman.

After his death the nation awoke to sudden realization that Mr. Harding played golf and took other outdoor exercise to keep himself fit for public service. Even those who had been disposed to criticize him for spending a daily portion of his valuable time on the golf links had their tongues silenced by the fatal proof that the apparently strong and robust President had

long suffered from ailment, which he sought to counteract by exercise. It was a revelation to the nation, like the sudden realization of the firm hold Mr. Harding had gained on the love and esteem of his countrymen.

Whenever he made a trip away from Washington the President took his golf clubs with him. He was eulogized as a golf player by the western amateur champion and former national open and amateur champion, who said:

"President Harding has done perhaps more than any other one man to popularize golf and raise the game in the estimation of the public.

"The President was a true lover of the game; golf was never a perfunctory matter to be performed as part of the office with him. You could see by the way he walked on the links; you could see by the way he drove, that he took a sincere and genuine delight in playing the game.

"Personally he played an excellent game. His driving was farther and straighter than I had ever expected of him before I played with him and his putting was unusually good. His iron work was perhaps his weakest point in the game. But he played a good style and showed a good orthodox swing.

"Twice I played with the President on the Chevy Chase links at Washington; the first time with Senator Kellogg and Henry Fletcher, minister to Belgium, and the second time with Mr. Fletcher and Judge Payne of Chicago. I found Mr. Harding a 'regular fellow' on the links. Each time the President and I won the foursome."

"Mr. Harding was a corking bridge player and his skill at poker is a tradition of the Marion Club and of the Elks Lodge there," said one of his friends after his death. "I should like to wager that every President the United States ever has had, or ever shall have, played or will play cards; but the people refuse

to believe this, so it generally is not mentioned. It is difficult to see how he would have been a better President if he had not enjoyed cards, but White House tradition is against it."

One may learn much about Warren Harding by knowing how he felt toward dogs. He made "Laddie Boy," the White House pet, the most famous dog in the world, but his fondness for dogs was of life-long standing and some of his editorial articles in the Marion Star on their affection and loyalty to men are newspaper classics. These articles and his attitude toward all dumb animals are an unmistakable index to his kind and loving nature.

"LADDIE BOY" AND HIS MASTER

A close friend of President Harding's, who attracted almost as much publicity as any cabinet officer, was "Laddie Boy." He was a homely, shaggy Airedale, presented to the President by a friend, and his interesting personality and obvious affection for his master caused him to be a figure of national and international regard.

Laddie Boy was and still is an aristocrat among dogs, and during his régime at the White House had a colored valet, Jackson by name, to care for his wants, which consisted largely of a bowl of broth, dog biscuit, and three baths daily.

Laddie Boy was a very privileged character in the White House and sat in dignity in a chair during some of the most important cabinet meetings of President Harding's administration. When the President sat wrapped in thought Laddie Boy was wont to give mute counsel by licking his hand reassuringly.

President Harding frequently referred to him as one of his closest and truest friends. He took him on motor trips frequently, and almost invariably insisted upon Laddie Boy's being allowed to observe his golf games.

A close friend of the President once said that Laddie Boy chuckled or smiled when the President made a good shot, and several times howled at poor ones.

So great did Laddie Boy's popularity become that he has been in frequent demand for parades, shows and other events throughout the nation. A delegation of Chicago Moose officials once made a special pilgrimage to Washington to induce the President to allow his pet to go there to be exhibited in a local show. He wore Washington license plate No. 1.

On one occasion Laddie Boy was the subject of a debate in the House of Representatives. The question was whether or not the United States Marine Band, an organization which plays largely for the White House and for official functions, should be abolished. The band was retained after Representative McLafferty, Republican, of California, drew a vivid picture of the nation's pet furnishing music for the President by racing around the White House grounds with a tomato can tied to his tail, in the event that the Marine Band was abolished.

A situation somewhat analogous to President Harding's embarrassment at the hands of a man who claimed relationship, and which no doubt strengthened the close bond between the dog and his master, came when the aristocratic Laddie Boy was twice claimed as a relative—once as father, and once as brother—by dogs who were haled into court for street-fighting in New York, and for killing chickens in Denver.

An Associated Press dispatch of August 3, 1923, carried to the country the following story of Laddie Boy, and of President Harding's fondness for all animals:

"There was one member of the White House household today who couldn't quite comprehend the air of sadness which hung over the Executive Mansion. It was Laddie Boy, President Harding's Airedale friend and companion.

"Coming to the White House a rawboned, callow pup, Laddie Boy has in two years grown to the estate of dignity and wholesome respect for his official surroundings.



Above—President Harding Congratulating Babe Ruth after the Latter's Home Run in Game Between New York and Washington, New York City, April 4, 1923.

Below—Reviewing the Mystic Shrine Parade, Washington, June 5, 1923. Left to Right, Imperial Potentate McCandless, President Harding, Mrs. Harding, Mrs. McCandless, Gen. Pershing.



Photo Copyright U. & U.
President Harding Playing Golf on the Public Links
at Washington, D. C. The President Was a Devotee
of the Game, Which Everyone Now Understands He
Played for His Health.



Photo Copyright U. & U.
Pitching Horseshoes Was a Favorite Game of Mr.
Harding, Who Was a Skilled Quoit Player, and the
Picture Shows Him Engaged in "Farmyard Golf" at
His Home in Marion, Ohio, When Senator.



P. & A. Photo
 Above—President Harding and Governor Bone of Alaska, Chatting at Skagway, July 26, 1923.
 Below—President Harding Completing Construction of the Alaska Government Railroad by Driving a Golden Spike near Nenana.



P. & A. Photo
 Above—Mayor T. A. Marquan of Fairbanks, Alaska, Presenting President Harding
 with a Gold-Mounted Collar for the Famous White House Dog, "Laddie Boy."
 Below—President Harding Driving the Engine of His Train from Washilla to
 Willow, Alaska, 26 miles in 51 Minutes.. Mrs. Harding Fired the Engine.

"Laddie Boy knows that his master and mistress made frequent trips away from home and he always watches for their return. Of late he has been casting an expectant eye and cocking a watchful ear at the motor cars which roll up on the White House drive. For in his dog sense way, he figures 'an automobile took them away, so an automobile must bring them back' and today, as on other days, he was watching the motor cars, listening for voices he knows so well. The White House attachés shook their heads and wondered how they were going to make Laddie Boy understand, as of course he will in time, as every good dog does."

Laddie Boy reflected the love and friendship Mr. and Mrs. Harding bestowed upon him and their feeling for him typified the feeling of both for all animals. Mrs. Harding never lost an opportunity in Washington to give her aid to any cause which stood for a decent chance for all animals, and in Alaska the President took as part of his oath of membership in an organization of Alaskan pioneers a vow never to be unkind to horse or dog.

HARDING'S EDITORIAL ON DOGS

Warren Harding never referred to them as "dumb animals"; he often said they were far from dumb, that they had their own ways of expression. It was not a fad or a fancy with him. Years ago, when he was active as editor of the Marion Star, somebody poisoned a pup he knew and Warren Harding published an editorial about it that showed how he felt. This is what he wrote:

"He was Edgewood Hub in the register, a mark of his breeding; but to us, just Hub, a little Boston terrier, whose sentient eye mirrored the fidelity and devotion of his loyal heart. The veterinary said he was poisoned; perhaps he was; his mute suffering suggested it.

"One is reluctant to believe that a human being who claims man's estate could be so hateful a coward as ruthlessly to torture and kill a trusting victim, made defenseless through his confidence in the human master; but there are such. One honest look from

Hub's trusting eyes was worth a hundred lying greetings from such inhuman beings, though they wore the habiliments of men.

"Perhaps you wouldn't devote these lines to a dog. But Hub was a Star office visitor nearly every day of the six years in which he deepened attachment. He was a grateful and devoted dog, with a dozen lovable attributes, and it somehow voices the yearnings of broken companionship to pay his memory deserved tribute.

"It isn't orthodox to ascribe a soul to a dog—if soul means immortality. But Hub was loving and loyal, with the jealousy that attests its equality. He was reserved, patient, faithful. He was sympathetic, more than humanly so sometimes, for no lure could be devised to call him from the sick bed of mistress or master. He minded his own affairs, especially worthy of human emulation, and he would kill or wound no living thing. He was modest and submissive where these were becoming, yet, he assured a guardianship of the home he sentineled, until entry was properly vouched.

"He couldn't speak our language, though he somehow understood, but he could be, and was, eloquent with uttering eye and wagging tail, and the other expressions of knowing dogs. No, perhaps he had no soul, but in these things are the essence of soul, and the spirit of lovable life.

"Whether the Creator planned it so, or environment and human companionship have made it so, men may learn richly through the love and fidelity of a brave and devoted dog. Such loyalty might easily add luster to a crown of immortality."

The man who wrote those words about a dog was a true sportsman, a human being with a big heart—big enough to embrace all humanity in its love and tenderness, as well as man's friends of the animal kingdom. Such a man and sportsman was Warren Harding.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE TRIP TO ALASKA

Start from Washington in June, 1923—The Journey Across the Continent—Policies Outlined in Speeches En Route—Many Remarkable Gatherings Addressed—Reception in Alaska—Trip Into the Interior—A Visit to Vancouver, B. C.—Enthusiastic Reception by Canadians—A Strenuous Day in Seattle—Attacked by Ptomaine Poisoning—Arrival in San Francisco.

President Harding made the supreme sacrifice in an effort to "bring the government closer to the people and the people closer to the government."

On the long and strenuous journey which he began June 20, 1923, to achieve that purpose by personally visiting the remote sections of the country, meeting the people and learning their problems first hand, including even those of Alaska, and ultimately the Canal Zone and Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands, he had those with him who still remain on duty in Washington, and will carry on as though their chief still stood at the helm, giving and directing the future course of the nation.

From the inception of his idea, Mr. Harding preserved his objective and steadfastly refused to permit those who would try to inject any element of politics into his visit to the country or the declared purposes for which he set out from Washington. At one time, when the plans for the then proposed journey were under consideration at the White House, he definitely announced that if the trip was to be made political in any degree, he would give up the idea and stay in Washington.

To serve his fixed intention to bring the government and people into closer contact, Mr. Harding invited those of his cabinet officials whose departments were most concerned with the problems of the country, to be his guests. Secretaries Hoover of the Department of Commerce, Work of the Department of the Interior, and Wallace of the Department of Agriculture, accepted the invitation. Then, still further to extend the knowledge of Washington, he drafted Frederick H. Gillett, Speaker of the House of Representatives—the man under whose gavel legislation is enacted for the nation and money for its needs is appropriated.

The Cabinet officers, Speaker Gillette, and the President worked as they traveled. Information was sought and obtained and studied as the journey proceeded. The objective—to secure knowledge beneficial to the nation as a whole and for the guidance of the Washington government in administering its affairs—was kept always in the front.

In Alaska as well as the States traversed by the party during its travels across the continent, conferences with local representatives were held almost at every stop. Community interests became familiar to the Washington executives. No problem was insignificant. No question was considered too local for the attention of the President and his aids. A woman in a small Alaskan village told Mr. Harding and his cabinet officers that there was need in that section of the Northland for a doctor. Her plea was heard. The President said the government would station a medical officer within reach of the inhabitants there.

Other instances of his anxiety over local problems, never before revealed so directly by a President to those of the Alaskan citizenship affected won for Mr. Harding an affectionate place in the hearts of the people he visited, and for whose welfare he labored.

Almost as a secondary relationship to the journey he was making did Mr. Harding treat his more important addresses and the subjects they dealt with. With the possible exception of his

Denver speech on national prohibition, that at St. Louis on the permanent Court of International Justice, and that at Seattle, when he reported to the American people on his studies of conditions in Alaska, the President was more concerned with the people's problems than with his own.

The Alaska trip was no new idea. It had been planned for 1922, but was abandoned because of the industrial situation. It was the President's purpose to combine a vacation, a tour of inspection, and, perhaps, a trip which would cement the support of those who had voted for him in 1920.

President Harding chose a route to the coast which did not include Chicago. His first speech, in St. Louis, on June 22, was a plea for the World Court; his second, at Kansas City, dealt with consolidation of the railroads; subsequent addresses at Omaha, Salt Lake City, and elsewhere covered other phases of his program, including his proposal to cut the income tax.

He sailed from Tacoma, Wash., July 5, starting on his return voyage from Seward, Alaska, July 19. He passed a day on Canadian soil at Vancouver and arrived in Seattle the morning of July 26. The day before reaching Vancouver he had eaten some crabmeat on the U. S. transport "Henderson," and on July 27, he evidenced symptoms of ptomaine poisoning. His proposed speaking tour through California was canceled and several physicians were called into consultation as complications set in.

In his swing through the country on his way to Alaska, President Harding expressed his views on practically every big problem confronting the nation.

At the outset of the trip he came out for a World Court, followed with a denunciation of government operation or ownership of railroads, declared in favor of observance of enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment and its supporting State and National laws, preached national economy and Alaskan conservation, promised relief for farmers, and told of a move by capital early

in his administration to persuade him to join in a movement to crush organized labor.

STAND ON PROHIBITION

In his declaration in favor of prohibition, which was greeted by the country as a bid by the President for dry support in 1924, President Harding said:

"I am convinced that they are a small and a greatly mistaken minority who believe the Eighteenth Amendment ever will be repealed. I am convinced that whatever changes may be made will represent the sincere purpose of effective enforcement rather than moderation of the general policy. It will be the part of wisdom to recognize the facts as they stand.

"If the burden of enforcement shall continue to be increasingly thrown upon the federal government it will be necessary to create a federal police authority, which in time inevitably will come to be regarded as an intrusion upon and interference with the rights of local authority to manage local concerns.

"The country and the nation will not permit the law of the land to be made a byword."

URGED GOVERNMENT ECONOMY

Economy was a subject often featured in the Harding speeches and in his address at Salt Lake City urging individual as well as national economy, the President said:

"The world, its governments, its quasi-public corporations, its people acquired the spending habit during the war to an extent not merely unprecedented but absolutely alarming.

"There is but one way for the community finally to get back on its feet, and that is to go seriously about paying its debts and reducing its expenses. That is what the world must face and so must the humblest citizen."

FOR THE WORLD COURT

Doubtless with President Harding's consent and approval, his secretary made public shortly before his death the text of the

address on the nation's foreign policies which the Chief Executive would have delivered at San Francisco had not his health broken down under the strain of hard work and constant speech-making. The circumstances attending the publication of the address should win for it particularly earnest consideration from the American people.

The feature of the address which challenged the widest attention was the discussion of the proposed entry by the United States into the World Court. Mr. Harding had been charged by some critics with so "confusing" that question as to make it unnecessary for the United States Senate to take cognizance of the requested sanction for American participation in the permanent tribunal. Yet to the principal criticisms of the irreconcilables Mr. Harding's address furnished simple and common-sense answers.

The fact that the World Court, he said, might not succeed in preventing war in all cases was a strangely weak argument against entry into it. It certainly constituted "an advance toward international peace," and failure to urge participation in the Court would be a violation of the nation's historic traditions and cherished purposes, as well as of the dictates of the conscience of a lover of peace and justice.

As to his tentative suggestion, put forth solely in order to remove prejudiced opposition to American participation, that the Court be formally and totally divorced from the League of Nations and all future nominations and elections of its members be made by the sitting judges themselves, President Harding made it clear that he regarded it as a mere detail. "The big thing," he said, "is the firm establishment of that court and our firm adherence thereto." Moreover, Mr. Harding had no pride of authorship in his suggestion and frankly recognized the competence and impartiality of the court "as it sits today" and hence the excellence of the mode of elections now provided in the protocol. He

would vastly prefer, he repeated, the submission of any dispute to that tribunal to any other form of settlement.

The President thus stood by his original proposal and there was nothing confusing about his position. In matters of foreign policy he had nothing to explain away and nothing to retract or seriously modify. Peace, co-operation and prudent helpfulness were the objectives as well as the basic principles of Mr. Harding's international policy.

A typical scene on the visit to Alaska, when the President and Mrs. Harding journeyed to the interior on the Alaskan Railroad, recently built by the Government, was witnessed at Anchorage, where several hundred persons gathered to welcome the party with enthusiasm. At a stand erected in the center of the town the President and his wife were presented with a painting of Mount McKinley, North America's highest peak, which could be seen just 125 miles from Anchorage. Mr. Harding also was given a paper knife with a gold nugget handle and a walrus ivory blade.

The President in an informal address referred to the fact that Anchorage was founded in 1915. "It is the best nine-year-old town I have ever seen," he said.

He assured his auditors that the visitors to the Nation's farthest north unit had convinced him and the three Cabinet officers with him that if the present generation should fail to see its dreams for Alaska realized, its children would certainly have their aspirations fulfilled.

As the party left Mrs. Harding said: "They talk of Americanism in the States, but I have seen in Alaska the greatest expression of Americanism anywhere in the world! Oh! I just love the Alaskans!"

The glories of Alaska continued to unfold before President Harding as he traveled over the Government railroad through the most wonderful scenic country in the world. The Swiss

Alps are inferior, old travelers in the party declared, to the picture land of mountain, lake and glacier that rolled past the car windows as the trip inland from Seward was enjoyed.

America may have an economic white elephant in Alaska, said one of the party, but it certainly has the greatest collection of natural beauties to be seen anywhere. The train passed glaciers that ran down almost to the tracks, skirted Alpine meadows ablaze with flowers in half a dozen vivid colors, or sped along the base of a mountain towering 12,000 feet above, glistening with snow and ice, shrouded with clouds one moment and shining in the sunshine the next.

President and Mrs. Harding rode several miles in a specially built automobile with flanged wheels which followed the train.

Surfeited with the wild scenic grandeur, the party came at dinner time to Tunnel and new glories—the glories of “Joe” Calder’s cooking. All sat down at big board tables in the railroad eating-house and ate, on the pine boards, Calder’s fried chicken and custard pies. Calder and his cooking, the President said, are sure to put the hamlet of Tunnel, Alaska, on the map.

The whole party responded to the beauties of the trip and were greatly cheered and enthused by the journey into the interior.

At Juneau, Capital of Alaska, where the Presidential party had arrived on July 10, 1923, thousands of people gathered in a downpour of rain to greet the President. The only part of the program which was called off was the shelling of a glacier, a feature which was prevented by fog. The welcome was led by Governor Scott C. Bone. Souvenirs from various organizations and from the Indians were given to Mrs. Harding.

From Juneau the party sailed across Alaska Bay to Seward, and there took train for Fairbanks and the interior. The welcome everywhere was enthusiastic, and the President and his Cabinet advisers learned a great deal at first hand of the problems of Alaska, including those of the Government railroad and its relations with shippers.

CANADIANS ARE VISITED

On his return from Alaska the party first visited Vancouver, B. C., and the visit had its purpose. It was strictly in line with the President's main objective in the visits made within American bounds, to know the public and be known for the mutual good of both the localities reached and the Washington Government. The Canadians responded cordially to Mr. Harding's plea at Vancouver in the interest of amity and better understanding. Their reception of Mr. Harding and enthusiasm over his visit was equal to that manifested by any American audience. It was the first time an American President had visited Canada during his term of office.

"It is public will, not public force, that makes for enduring peace," President Harding told his audience of Canadians, gathered in Stanley Park, Vancouver. "And is it not a gratifying circumstance that it has fallen to the lot of us North Americans, living amicably for more than a century under different flags, to present the most striking example yet produced of that basic fact? If only European countries would heed the lesson conveyed by Canada and the United States, they would strike at the root of disagreements, and in their own prosperity forget to inveigh constantly at ours."

With this emphasis upon the long friendship between Canada and the United States, Mr. Harding coupled advice to the people of the Dominion to guard against giving heed "to any enterprise looking to Canada's annexation to the United States."

"Let us go our own gaits along parallel roads, you helping us and we helping you," he added.

"What an object lesson of peace is shown today by our two frontiers! No huge battleships patrol our dividing waters; no stealthy spies lurk in our tranquil border hamlets. Only a scrap of paper, recording hardly more than a simple understanding, safeguards lives and properties on the Great Lakes, and only hum-

ble mile posts mark the inviolable boundary line for thousands of miles through farm and forest.

"Our protection is in our fraternity; our armour is our faith; the tie that binds more firmly year by year, ever-increasing, a compact not of perishable parchment, but of fair and honorable dealing, which God grant, shall continue for all time.

"Our natural advantages are manifold and obvious. We are not palsied by the habits of a thousand years. We live in the power and glory of youth. Others derive justifiable satisfaction from contemplation of their resplendent pasts. We have relatively only our present to regard, and that with eager eyes fixed chiefly upon our future."

Members of the Presidential party described Vancouver as even surpassing in warmth the receptions in several cities south of the northern boundaries, and declared they were certain to be beneficial in future relations between the Dominion Government and Washington.

It was said by members of the President's Alaska party, to be fitting that Mr. Harding's last speech should have been made to the newspaper men of Seattle, at the Press Club. He appeared on that occasion, little thinking it would be his last public address. He spoke to his "co-workers" there as one newspaper man would speak to another.

It was his habit always to treat his hearers as equals, or sometimes to appear in the role of an employee submitting a report to his employers.

ILLNESS IS CONCEALED

San Francisco was the first city to know the President as a seriously ill man. Seattle took him in without knowledge of his ailment, although the pains of illness already had sapped much of his strength, and the welcome of the City involved a strenuous and trying day for Mr. Harding.

The American battle fleet, dressed for review in Seattle Harbor, saw him as its Commander-in-Chief as he stood on the flying bridge of the transport Henderson, apparently a well and vigorous man, smiling and receiving the ship's salutes as he passed by, never suspecting that he stood at attention racked and torn internally, yet outwardly a picture of health and happiness.

The courage of the man, enduring silently and without complaint the suffering of a sick person, continuing his journey apparently determined to follow the program through to the end, to disappoint no one who had arranged to meet him along the route ahead, reacted in the light of facts now known to stir the nation to thoughts of the heroism and courage possessed by President Harding, but theretofore never revealed in such dramatic conditions.

The President's illness and death in San Francisco overshadowed all other disasters that attended the trip from Washington, but the first tragedy that brought sorrow to him and Mrs. Harding occurred at Denver on the trip West. It resulted in the death of three persons, one an intimate friend and member of his immediate party, and was caused by an automobile crash into Bear Creek Canyon from the highways on which the passengers were traveling through the mountain park system.

The next cloud to cast shadows across the line of travel was the threatened illness of Mrs. Harding in Fairbanks, Alaska. She had become fatigued from the journey northward and required medical attention for several days before the physicians in attendance were convinced that danger had passed.

Then came the collision between the navy transport Henderson and the destroyer Zeilen, when the former was returning with the President and Mrs. Harding from Sitka, the last stop made in Alaska. The destroyer was damaged and loss of life was narrowly averted.

CHAPTER XX.

ILLNESS AT SAN FRANCISCO

Signs of Fatigue in Seattle—Last Public Appearances—
Address on Alaska and Its People—Illness Develops—
Trip to Yosemite Abandoned—Consultation of Physicians
on Arrival at San Francisco—Early Bulletins and Signs
of Improvement—Optimistic Reports Precede the Final
Collapse.

The last public appearances of President Harding were made at Seattle on July 27, 1923. There he began to show evidences of fatigue, but few suspected that he was stricken with fatal illness.

In his principle address at Seattle, six days before his death, the President presented his program for Alaska, evolved from his first-hand study of conditions in the territory. He planned measures to conserve the salmon fisheries, removal of some of the restrictions on utilization of the forests, the grant of more liberal appropriations for road-building, encouragement in agricultural experimentation, and retention of the Alaskan Railroad by the Government. He declared emphatically that he had found no "Alaskan problem," but that "Alaska is all right and is doing well."

Mr. Harding emphasized throughout that much of the development of Alaska was dependent on the people of the territory, although the Federal Government, he said, might aid.

"Alaska is destined for ultimate statehood," he asserted at another point. "In a very few years we can well set off the pan-

handle and a large block of the connecting southeastern part as a State. This region now contains easily 90 per cent of the white population and of the developed resources. It would be the greatest single impetus we could possibly give to the right kind of development. As to the remainder of the territory, I would leave the Alaskans of the future to decide."

The Chief Executive began his address with praise for the scenic beauties of Alaska, although recognizing, he said, that "words seem inadequate to portray the grandeur, to measure the magnificence, to express the mightiness or acclaim the glory of monumental mountains and their jeweled valleys."

Praise was bestowed on the people of Alaska by the President "as the finest, most hospitable people in all the world."

"There is no finer citizenship in all the United States, no more promising a childhood anywhere," he added. "Indeed, in this citizenship and in this vigorous childhood, both devoted to Alaska as the land of their homes, lies the solution, of the Alaskan problem. In them is the assurance of Alaska's ultimate and adequate development.

"No magic wand made from Federal Treasury gold may be waved to effect the grand transformation. The processes of development and establishment of permanent and ample civilization lie in a citizenship with homes in Alaska, not in investors who are seeking Alaskan wealth to enrich homes elsewhere."

"Let me say that I shall undertake no more than a preliminary report at this time," he continued. "He who undertakes to forecast the future of Alaska and formulate a program for its realization, on the strength of such a fleeting glimpse as has been permitted to us, will be a wiser and a far bolder man than I.

"We have seen much, but it is only a little of the stupendous whole. More than all, we have enormously strengthened our faith in the future of Alaska as the home of a great State in the American Commonwealth.

"A brave, hardy, enterprising, uncomplaining people are building for Alaska's tomorrow precisely as our forefathers built for ours today in the older communities, and I am sure that they will in their time, bring another great State into the Union."

Mr. Harding, in concluding his address, declared:

"The Federal Government's processes have not paralyzed, but rather have promoted the right sort of Alaska development. The territory needs their continuance; some of them, as already indicated, on a more generous scale than in the past. We have been paid back many times for every dollar spent on Alaska, and the dividends have only begun.

"We ought to shorten the line of communication as much as possible between Alaska and Washington and to bring about the closest co-operation and understanding between the national agencies which operate there and the splendidly efficient territorial government which under Gov. Bone has deserved and holds the fullest confidence of the people.

"Mine is pride and faith in Alaska. With our rational helpfulness, with our justifiable generosity, her people will work out the destiny of the enchanting empire and turn a wonderland of riches and incomparable fascination to added power and new glory to our great republic."

Next day, July 28,, after a rail and water trip of more than 5,000 miles to Alaska, Canada, and return to Seattle, President Harding was again on board the train which left Washington, D. C., June 20, 1923, and was traveling with his official party along the Pacific Coast range south to the Yosemite National Park, California.

The President and Mrs. Harding were reported to have passed the day in relaxation from the hurried and strenuous program in Seattle, occasioned by the delayed arrival at that port of the Navy transport Henderson, in turn caused by impenetrable fog banks on the waters north and in the vicinity of Port Townsend, Wash.

But the President's illness was developing. He was suffering from more than fatigue. The visit to Yosemite Park was abandoned and Mr. Harding was admittedly a sick man when he reached San Francisco and took to his bed at the Palace Hotel, where the entire eighth floor was reserved for the Presidential party.

The first news that reached the American public of the President's illness ascribed the first attack to ptomaine poisoning caused by the eating of some Alaskan crabmeat on the transport Henderson, in the voyage from Alaska to Vancouver. It was supposed that the crabs might have come from waters impregnated with copper from the mines which are one of Alaska's greatest resources. Whatever the cause of the original illness, which apparently attacked Mr. Harding between Vancouver and Seattle, it found him in a weakened condition resulting from the fatigue and exhaustion of his prolonged journey and the unremitting demands upon him for public appearance that have sapped the strength of other Presidents before him. Heart trouble developed soon after his arrival in San Francisco, and the early bulletins indicated a serious condition that aroused general misgiving.

Soon after reaching the Palace Hotel in San Francisco, where it may be said everything possible was done for the care and comfort of the distinguished patient, two eminent physicians were summoned in consultation on July 30, with the three doctors who had accompanied the President throughout his trip from Washington. The latter included Brigadier-General Charles E. Sawyer, the White House physician and long the personal friend of President Harding in the home town of Marion, Ohio; J. T. Boone, U. S. N., a naval surgeon also attached to the White House, and Dr. Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, who was formerly president of the American Medical Association. The California physicians summoned in consultation were Dr. Ray

Lyman Wilbur, President of Stanford University and also President of the American Medical Association, and Dr. C. M. Cooper of Stanford University, a heart specialist. All these physicians remained in close attendance upon the President until his death. Dr. Boone seldom left the sick room, day or night, until Mr. Harding's condition appeared to improve satisfactorily on August 2, and Dr. Sawyer is said by Secretary Herbert Hoover to have been in the room when the President was finally stricken, although the first reports stated that only Mrs. Harding, whose devotion to and attendance upon her husband was unrelenting throughout his illness, and two nurses were present.

The first bulletins issued by the attending physicians, as stated, caused national alarm, with the development of symptoms of pneumonia, and all over the country prayers were offered for his recovery. But after a day or two there seemed to be signs of improvement, although early in the week of July 29, it was announced that the remainder of the President's trip would be abandoned, and that he would return to Washington as soon as he was able to travel. It had been proposed to continue from San Francisco with a voyage on the "Henderson" to Panama and through the Canal Zone for a visit to Porto Rico before returning to the United States.

On Wednesday, August 1, the President's improvement continued. He felt so much better in fact that he suggested he should leave San Francisco for Washington on the following Sunday. The suggestion was vetoed, but it was indicative of the President's belief that he was on the road to recovery.

"I think the crisis has passed," Brig.-Gen. Charles E. Sawyer, the President's chief physician, said. "I think I may say that he is out of danger, barring complications."

But Gen. Sawyer said that President Harding was still a sick man and would not recover from his illness for a considerable time. He indicated that the period of convalescence would be

long. "This is not going to be a quick return to health," he declared. "The symptom of exhaustion is something that cannot be overcome quickly. The recuperative period must be slow." The President's condition, however, was generally regarded as encouraging.

The official bulletin issued at 4:50 p. m. (7:50 p. m., Chicago time) on August 1, said:

"The President is now resting comfortably after a somewhat restless day. The temperature reached normal during the day, and the pulse has varied from 116 to 120 and the respiration from 36 to 40. There is evidence of slight improvement in the lung condition. Otherwise there is no marked change."

On August 2, the physicians, for the first time permitted an extremely optimistic statement to be made in their formal signed bulletins. Dr. Sawyer had warned constantly for the last three days that the apparent rapid recovery of the President should not be construed too hopefully. He had pointed out that complications might occur and that in the President's weakened condition any complication, even so small as an ulcerated tooth, might prove serious.

The optimism shining through Dr. Sawyer's eyes, however, resulted in very little attention being paid to this cautioning advice and everyone assumed that the President was getting along so well that it was only a question of how long it would be before he could be taken to Washington.

The formal statement signed by the physicians on the morning of August 2, stated that "while recovery will inevitably take some little time, we are more confident than heretofore as to the outcome of his illness."

The afternoon statement, issued at 4:30 p. m. (8:30 p. m New York time), after a careful examination in which all five physicians participated, stated that "the President has had the most

satisfactory day since his illness began. The evidences of infection are subsiding, but he has been left in a very weakened condition by the hard battle he has made."

Despite this statement, which gave rise to universal hope and belief that the President was on the road to recovery, only a few hours elapsed before Warren Harding's life came to a tragic end.

The Whole World Mourns for Our Most Esteemed President

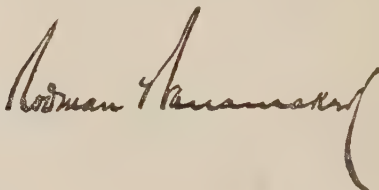
He gave all his heart and life to his country

He was a real, true American, guided by super-human powers, with deepest feelings for all his great responsibilities.

May all of us, each one, stand by his devoted and beloved wife in these hours of deepest mental suffering, when only hearts can give their tenderness beyond any human words.

The Wanamaker stores and foreign houses will be closed on the day of the national services at Washington.

(Signed)

A large, elegant handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Rodman Wanamaker". The signature is written in a cursive style with long, sweeping strokes, particularly in the last name.

August 3, 1923.

An Announcement Typical of the Action of the Retail Business World of America on President Harding's Death.

CHAPTER XXI

DEATH ON AUGUST 2, 1923

How the End Came—The President's Last Words—Mrs. Harding's Fortitude—Official Statement by the Attending Physicians—How the News Was Received by the Nation—Millions in Mourning—Scenes in the Death Chamber.

The life of President Harding came to a sudden and tragic end at 7:30 p. m. on Thursday, August 2, 1923.

Mrs. Harding and the two nurses, Miss Ruth Powderly and Miss Sue Dausser, were in the room at the time, while Brig.-Gen. Sawyer was nearby. Mrs. Harding was reading to the President, when utterly, without warning, a slight shudder passed through his frame, he collapsed, and all recognized that the end had come. A stroke of apoplexy was the cause of his death.

Within a few minutes all of the President's official party had been summoned.

Secretary Hoover was the first of the four members of the President's Cabinet who were in San Francisco, to learn the sad news. He went into the room at once and in a few minutes came out obviously deeply distressed, and in a low voice said to newspaper men: "Boys, I can't tell you a thing."

Secretary Wallace was the second member of the President's official family to learn of the passing of his chief and he likewise was so overcome with grief that he could say nothing.

"The President had a most splendid afternoon," said Lieutenant Commander Joel T. Boone, assistant to the President's

personal physician, "When I left the room I commented, 'Doesn't he look splendid?' Then, all at once, he went just like that," the commander snapped his fingers. "Just like that," he repeated. "Something just snapped; that's all."

The end came after a day which had been described by Brigadier-General Sawyer, the President's personal physician, as the most satisfactory day the President had had since his illness began.

The first indication that a change had occurred in the condition of Mr. Harding came shortly before 7:30 o'clock, when Mrs. Harding personally opened the door of the sick room and called to those in the corridors to "find Dr. Boone and the others quick." At that time Mrs. Harding was understood to have been reading to the President sitting at his bedside with the evening papers and messages of sympathy which had been received during the day.

The death of the nation's Chief Executive was announced in these words:

"The President died instantaneously and without warning and while conversing with members of his family at 7:30 p. m. Death was apparently due to some brain evolvment. Probably an apoplexy.

"During the day he had been free from discomfort and there was every justification for anticipating a prompt recovery.

"C. E. SAWYER, M. D.

"RAY LYMAN WILBUR, M. D.

"C. M. COOPER, M. D.

"J. T. BOONE, M. D.

"HUBERT WORK, M. D.

"August 2, 1923, 7:35 p. m."

In a second official statement issued at 8:02 p. m. the statement was made that death had been caused by a stroke of apoplexy.

There was no time to summon additional physicians, no time to call the members of the President's official family, and no time for medical skill to exercise its knowledge.

It was all over in the twinkling of an eye, and it left a nation and the world shocked and in grief.

Mrs. Harding, the constant companion of her distinguished husband, was faithful until the end, which came immediately after she noticed a shudder run through the frame of the man she had loved, encouraged in adversity and praised in success.

Before she could arise from her chair, Mr. Harding collapsed in his bed, and she rushed to the door calling for the physicians to come quickly.

The President had fought and won one victory against disease, but it appeared in a more insidious form and he lost the battle.

Great as was the shock to all who dwell under the American flag and to peoples in many lands for Mr. Harding by virtue of his office, his kindly and his lovable personality had become a world figure, the great shock came to his wife, reading by his side. But she did not collapse.

"She was shocked, of course, and at first unable to realize that she had lost the husband who had made up all the interest in her life for so many proud and happy years," said Gen. Sawyer later. "But there was no collapse, no hysteria. Just a brave rally to face her sorrows and the duties devolving upon her at this hour."

Mrs. Harding retired at 1 o'clock that night and slept fitfully, it was said by members of the official party, who added that she, as always, was considering others before herself. One member of the party said she was facing the fact of the President's death with "heroism."

Official Statement by Physicians

Following is the official story of the death of President Harding told in a statement issued the next morning, August 3, by the

five physicians who had been in constant attendance upon the President:

"Last Spring, following a long period of overwork and great strain, President Harding was confined to his bed with an attack of influenza which was followed by a few nocturnal attacks of labored breathing. His recovery was slow and he had not fully regained his normal strength and health when he started out on the trip to Alaska.

"He had also had some attacks of abdominal pain and indigestion, and at times he had some pain associated with a feeling of oppression in the chest. For some years his systolic blood pressure had ranged around 180 and there was evidence of some arterio-sclerosis, enlargement of the heart and defective action of the kidneys.

"Except for fatigue and the fact that his heart and blood vessels were some years older than the rest of his body he was in reasonably good health.

"On the return trip from Alaska he had an acute gastro-intestinal attack associated with abdominal pain and fever. In spite of his illness he insisted on putting through his program of speaking in Vancouver and Seattle.

"He had considerable difficulty in completing his addresses in Seattle because of weakness and pain. Because of this he was persuaded to come directly to San Francisco and arrived at the Palace Hotel Sunday morning, July 29. He dressed and walked to the automobile from the train.

"Sunday evening a consultation was called because his temperature had risen to 102 and his pulse and respirations were abnormally rapid. The abdominal difficulty had by this time become localized in the gall bladder region, but there was a general toxemia with fever and leucocytosis.

"A central broncho pneumonia soon developed on the left side. It was accompanied by short circulatory collapses, with cold

sweats and an irregular pulse. Most disturbing of all was the rapid and irregular breathing suggestive of arterio-sclerosis of the brain vessels in the region of the respiratory center.

"Under treatment marked improvement in the pneumonia and circulatory disturbances took place, and Thursday, Aug. 2, he was free from fever and pain; the acute lung condition was practically gone. He was resting comfortably in bed and conversing with Mrs. Harding and General Sawyer when he died instantaneously without a word or a groan.

"We all believe he died from apoplexy or a rupture of the blood vessel in the axis of the brain near the respiratory center. His death came after recovery from the acute illness was in process. It might have occurred at any time. One of his sisters died suddenly in the same manner.

"(Signed) C. E. SAWYER, M. D.

"RAY LYMAN WILBUR, M. D.

"C. M. COOPER, M. D.

"J. T. BOONE, M. D.

"HUBERT WORK, M. D."

The President's last words, uttered to Mrs. Harding as she was reading to him, were: "That's good. Go on; read some more." A few moments later his expression changed. He was dead.

WHAT HE HEARD IN HIS LAST MOMENTS

At the moment of Mr. Harding's death his wife was reading to him Samuel B. Blythe's article in the Saturday Evening Post of July 28, entitled "A Calm Review of a Calm Man." This article was an appreciation of President Harding's methods and manner, and its reading called forth his last recorded words: "That's good. Read some more." Mr. Blythe is noted for his keen insight and political acumen, and the following paragraphs from his article are probably what Mr. Harding heard in his last moments on earth:

"Temperamentally the President is a calm man. He is not emotional or sensational or exclamatory. He has been joshed for nearly three years now for saying his platform was a return to normalcy. Especially as, incited by his opponents, it has come to be the popular view that normalcy is as far away as it was when he went into office, or farther. His policy is that a great many things that are wrong will right themselves if given time. That isn't a policy that attracts any admiration from the masses. It is too slow. Hence they say he is indolent, and lazy, and too fond of his golf, and all this and that. Although the very business men who rage and fume over his lack of action, his deliberation, his apparent slowness and take hours and hours more than he does away from their desks, they consider him a villain and traitor to the State because he seeks recreation enough to keep in fairly good health.

"The popular idea of the proper attitude of a President towards his job is that he should leap from his bed about six o'clock in the morning, gulp a breakfast, gallop to his desk, remain there all day and far into the night, with half an hour for luncheon, and, perhaps, an hour for dinner, until about midnight, busily engaged in his various occupations; and repeat that day after day for four years, except, of course, he must take an hour or two of a Sunday to go to church. Not that his critics go to church. They play golf or go auto-mobiling. But he is President.

"Now the fact that the President does his work calmly and methodically, and does it efficiently and without a flock of highly trained press agents sending out feverish bulletins reciting that he is striving mightily at his desk with the affairs of the people; the fact that no person stands outside his office and beats the tom-tom to call attention to the enormous political significance of the great man inside devoting himself to mighty, heroic, self-sacrificing labors for the commonalty;

that no chanters or shouters celebrate incessantly the magnificence of the spectacle of this patriot and statesman sitting there, worn and weary but unconquerable, hauling the Republic off the rocks every half hour each day, including holidays and Sundays—has been so extraordinary that the American public has not understood it. It has been so different, and what is different, with us, is deplorable and disturbing.

“So we hear that the President doesn’t take his job seriously, that he is indolent, that he does practically no work, but plays golf all the time, and thus and so. Being excitable as a nation in the same futile manner as the Mexican jumping bean, we do not understand, and thus condemn a calm manner of mind and a calm approach to the work at hand. But how about it? How much work does the President do? Well, the only way to get an approximation of that is by comparison, and there is some first-hand expert testimony on that point. Rudolph Forster has been executive clerk at the White House since McKinley was President and McKinley went into office on March 4, 1897. Forster says that the burden of work the President has to do now is five times greater than the presidential work was in McKinley’s days in the White House, and three times greater than during the time Roosevelt was President. And greater now than ever before, even during the war days.

“And Harding does this work—does it calmly and in his own manner. But the point is, he does it. Instead of treating all molehills as mountains, as is our national manner, he expertly appraises molehills as molehills and mountains as mountains. He doesn’t struggle mightily, as have some others who have occupied his seat, with the little things, but treats them as such; and when a real emergency comes along he gets action as quickly—quicker in many cases—than some of his much-lauded strenuous predecessors.”

SCENES IN THE HOTEL

No sudden climax ever conceived by the brain of a dramatist could have equaled that of the passing of the President. Only a few hours before the doctors had reported him gaining rapidly and steadily on the combination of illnesses that only five days ago forced him to abandon the most epochal trip ever undertaken by a President of the United States, and which was more than half concluded at the time of his breakdown.

There were few about on the eighth floor of the hotel at the time. The corridors, which had been jammed with the coming and going of inquiring crowds for several days, were almost deserted.

It was the dinner hour and members of the Cabinet and personal friends of the President who had been his constant companions on the Alaskan tour were downstairs, dining. Only the usual secret service guard and a few casual newspaper correspondents, their vigilance relaxed because of the continued optimistic bulletins on the President's convalescence, were about the halls.

Eight floors below there was the customary dinner throng, gay and happy, gathering in the great dining room to the accompaniment of an orchestra. Into this crowd there suddenly dashed frantic bellboys, paging members of the cabinet, the members of the official party, but loudest of all the doctors.

Dr. Boone, the naval officer whose name had leaped first to the lips of a frantic and terrified nurse, was dining with Gen. John J. Pershing. He was out of the dining room and across the lobby into the elevators while the boys were still running between the tables.

Then commotion broke loose in the hotel. Every one knew that something was wrong. No one knew what.

Shortly the word came down: "The President is dead." And a silence that could be felt enwrapped the hotel.

VICE-PRESIDENT IS NOTIFIED

The following telegram from the members of the Cabinet who are here was immediately sent to Vice-President Coolidge, Chief Justice Taft, and those members of the Cabinet who were not in San Francisco:

"The President died at 7:30 p. m. (11:30 Eastern time) from a stroke of cerebral apoplexy. The end came peacefully and without warning."

This official notification was signed by Attorney-General Daugherty and Secretaries Work, Hoover and Wallace. At 2:57 a. m., the following morning Calvin Coolidge took the oath as President in his father's farmhouse in the Vermont hills. Both he and Mrs. Coolidge were deeply affected by Mr. Harding's death and sent a touching message of condolence to Mrs. Harding.

FRIENDS WITH MRS. HARDING

At Mrs. Harding's request a number of her friends went to her sitting room late that evening and sat with her. The widow of the President was remarkably self-contained. She showed the grit that was largely responsible for her recovery from the dangerous illness through which she passed during the autumn and winter of 1922.

She talked of her last hours with the President. He had said kind things in the afternoon of some of the newspaper correspondents who accompanied the Presidential party and paid a tribute to the fair grounds they had given of the President's speeches and the incidents of the tour. It was apparent that her last day with her husband had been happy and was made happier in the seeming assurance that he passed the crisis and would be restored to health and strength, although the pull would be long and tedious.

Those who sat with Mrs. Harding in the dark hours following the President's death were Mrs. Hubert Work, wife of the Secretary of the Interior; Mrs. Charles E. Sawyer, wife of the

President's physician and an old friend and neighbor of the Hardings in Marion; Mrs. Herbert Hoover, wife of the Secretary of Commerce; Mrs. Malcolm Jennings of Marion, O., whose husband was once editor of the Marion Star, and Mrs. E. E. Remsberg of Santa Ana, Cal., the sister of the late President, who arrived in San Francisco, August 1, and her two daughters.

In a gray-draped room far above San Francisco's busiest street, all that was mortal of America's twenty-ninth President reposed that evening. Death in coming had left no mark upon his countenance. So suddenly, so painlessly, had the end come that his face, but for its pallor, might have been that of a man in sleep.

But for the closing of the eyelids by loving fingers it was as it had been a moment after the President, pleased by what Mrs. Harding was reading to him, had said: "That's good. Go on. Read some more."

The body was robed in white, dressing for burial having been deferred until later, and lay upon the bed where the President made his losing fight for health. The face was almost of its natural hue. The lips were slightly parted.

When the death announcement was made it was flashed to all parts of the nation by the Associated Press by telegraph and telephone, and to the most distant parts of the world by cable and radio. Thus it was that newspapers were on the streets in New York with announcement of the passing of the Republic's chief almost before it became generally known about the Palace Hotel.

The announcement was followed momentarily by confusion in the vicinity of the Presidential suite, but soon the trained members of the executive staff took charge, the physicians conferred, and later issued their detailed statement as to the cause of death, and the cabinet members meeting together decided upon and submitted to Mrs. Harding for approval the plans for the return trip to Washington.

Col. Shipley of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad was sent for by the Cabinet officers while they were in conference after the death and asked to be ready to make arrangements for the mournful journey across the continent, which was to be in striking contrast with President Harding's progress through continental America and Alaska after he left Washington on June 20.

It was a long and strange night about the eighth floor of the Palace Hotel. After Mrs. Harding retired, the members of the Cabinet also retired and quiet settled quickly where only a few hours before there had been the bustling aftermath of a national tragedy. Throughout the night the undertakers worked silently in the bedroom where the President died. They completed their task just as the dawning day laid a blanket of fog over the city.

After the embalmers had put the body of the President, dressed in a morning cutaway coat with black trousers, in the casket, it was placed in the big drawing-room in the Presidential suite. Far from being a funeral appearing chamber, the room was brightly lighted, and crowded with flowers. The casket was not in the center, but was placed against one wall between two windows.

Next morning the long red-carpeted corridor again presented a scene of bustle and activity, as the thousand-odd details incident to getting away from San Francisco were being worked out. Military and naval officers completed details for the train guard.

By mid-forenoon there was a constant stream of flowers pouring into the Palace Hotel. They came from everyone. San Franciscans left Mrs. Harding alone with her grief, but their sympathy was manifested by the loads of beautiful blossoms which messengers bore in a never-ending stream.

THE NEWS IN MARION

The home town of Marion, Ohio, was shocked to a degree beyond expression when news of the death of her most beloved citizen, President Warren G. Harding, flashed over the wires late on the night of August 2.

Tolling of the courthouse and church bells awakened those who had retired and halted those preparing to retire for the night, and in a few moments small knots of persons had gathered at innumerable places, unable to realize that the President had died. Hundreds of telephone calls came into the offices of the *Star*—the newspaper which President Harding owned for so many years—and the *Tribune*, the morning paper, which only a short time had moved into the *Star* Building, some to verify the reports they had heard and others to learn the reason for the tolling of the bells.

Just as soon as the news of the President's death was received, a messenger went to the home of Dr. George Tyron Harding, father of the President, to notify him of his son's death. Dr. Harding had retired for the night and it took several minutes to awaken him. As soon as he awakened, Dr. Harding realized that something had happened, and he took the news exceedingly hard. But the aged father did not collapse when the news was broken to him. Shortly after the messenger notified him of his son's death, a few friends called and found him sitting in a chair repeating: "Boys, this is terrible. Warren has gone. Warren had the interest of the country at heart. There never has been a President since Abraham Lincoln that had the interest of the country at heart like Warren."

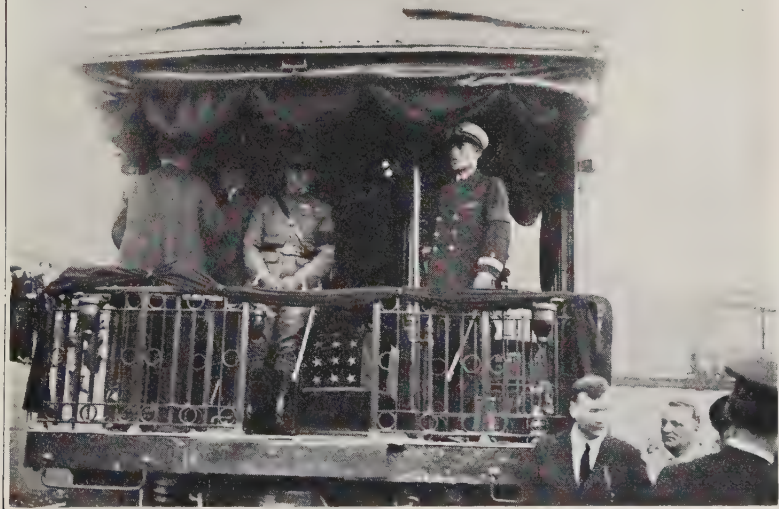
In New York, Chicago, and everywhere throughout the country the news of the President's death was a distinct shock. Many did not learn of it until the following morning, when the staring headlines of the newspapers and their "turned" column rules in evidence of mourning, completed the surprise at the sudden tragedy. Tributes to the President's life and character, following a rush of messages of condolence to his bereaved helpmate, came from all classes of the American people and from the public men of every civilized nation on earth. Many of these tributes, typical of the general respect and esteem for President Harding have been reproduced in an early chapter of this volume. These mes-



P. & A. Photo
President Harding in Canada, First American President to Visit the Dominion.
Arrival at Vancouver, B. C. Left to Right, Brig.-Gen. V. Odum, President Harding, Commander Buchanan. Mr. Harding Was Enthusiastically Received by the Canadians.



P. & A. Photo
The Flag at Half Mast Over the Room in the Palace Hotel, San Francisco, Where
President Harding Died.



P. & A. Photos.

Above—Casket Containing the Body of President Harding Being Placed in Hearse After Brief Funeral Services at the Palace Hotel, San Francisco.
Below—Rear Platform of the Funeral Train, Showing End of Flag-Draped Casket and Officers of the Army and Navy Guard.



P. & A. Photos.

Above—President Harding's Body Lying in State in the East Room of the White House, from Which It Was Borne to the Capitol.
Below—The Caisson Bearing the Body, Passing Down Pennsylvania Avenue on Way to Capitol, August 8, 1923.

sages and tributes, with the unparalleled demonstration of national grief that accompanied the passage of the funeral train across the country and the obsequies in Washington and Marion, did much to comfort and console Mrs. Harding and the relatives and personal friends of the late President in their sorrow.

Truly, as Calvin Coolidge said, the world had lost a great and good man.

Milestones in Warren Harding's Career

Here were the milestones in Warren G. Harding's life, notable for its steady advances from the farm to the White House:

Born in Corsica (Blooming Grove), Morrow county, Ohio, November 2, 1865.

Began career as newspaper publisher November 26, 1884.

Elected to Ohio State Senate, his first political office, November 6, 1898.

Elected Lieutenant-Governor of Ohio November 3, 1903.

Defeated as Republican candidate for Governor November 8, 1910.

Elected to United States Senate November 3, 1914.

Nominated for the Presidency June 12, 1920.

Elected President November 2, 1920.

Inaugurated March 4, 1921.

Died August 2, 1923.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE FUNERAL JOURNEY

Brief Services at San Francisco—A Sad and Sorrowful Progress Across the Country—The Funeral Train Received by Silent and Respectful Crowds—Casket Guarded Day and Night—Arrival at Washington—The Lying-in-State at the Capitol—Ceremonies at Washington—Departure for the Home City.

History fails to record a funeral progress like that of the remains of Warren G. Harding—through an avenue of sorrow that stretched 3,000 miles across a continent in mourning.

Kings, princes, potentates, and statesmen have been borne to their last resting-places amid the lamentations of their subjects and people whom they governed as autocrats or constitutional rulers; but never has the world witnessed such an outpouring of millions of freemen, women and children in genuine sorrow, standing in silence and respect night and day, as accompanied the passage of the Harding funeral train from coast to coast, on the long, long trail from San Francisco to the Nation's capital and thence to the home town where the mortal remains of the twenty-ninth President were laid at rest. The funeral journey bore striking testimony to the strong hold that Warren Harding had gained upon the hearts of the American people.

In San Francisco only a simple prayer was said over the body on Friday, August 3. This service was performed by the Rev. James S. West, pastor of the First Baptist Church. It was held

at 5 o'clock in the Presidential suite at the Palace Hotel. Only the members of the immediate party, including the newspaper men who made the journey to Alaska and one man from each San Francisco paper, were admitted to the brief service. Dr. West delivered the following prayer:

"Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, Thou art the Supreme Ruler of the Nation and of the world, the loving Heavenly Father of all Thy children, almighty in Thy strength and infinite in Thy tenderness.

"We approach Thee humbly and reverently, but boldly and expectantly in this hour when our hearts are wrung with sorrow, the Nation is bowed in grief, and the eyes and heart sympathies of the world are turned toward this place.

"The great and beloved Chief Magistrate of our Nation has suddenly fallen at the moment when we most brightly hoped that our earnest prayers for his speedy and complete recovery were being graciously answered, when his great work, as it seemed to us, had only well begun. Our hearts are broken, we are sore stricken with the sense of loss to his family, loved ones, friends, the Nation, and the world.

"Our hope is in Thee, and Thee only. We humbly beseech Thee that Thine infinite grace and comfort may be bestowed upon us abundantly in this hour of our supreme need as individuals, and as a Nation.

"We thank Thee out of the depths of our hearts for the noble, Christian character, lofty principles and notable service of him whom Thou hast called from sacrificial service to rest eternal. We bless Thee for his unshrinking courage, his stalwart strength, his radiant kindness and gentleness, for his self-forgetting devotion to the cause of justice, brotherhood, and peace for the individual, the Nation and the world, in the propagation of which he sacrificed his life, and as a martyr to which he is lovingly en-

shrined forever in the hearts of the grief-stricken but grateful people.

"We fondly hope and earnestly pray that what we wished and sought to accomplish by his life may now be accomplished by his death. Raise up others, we beseech Thee, who shall carry forward and complete the great work which he began.

"We beseech Thee to bless with wisdom, poise and strength, all those who were associated with him in the great affairs of the Nation, and upon whom with his going there rests so great a burden of responsibility.

"We beseech Thee especially, to bless him who by this Providence is called to the chief magistracy of the Republic.

"Let Thy tenderest benediction of comfort and sustaining grace be upon members of the stricken family, his aged father, his brother and sisters, and especially, upon his faithful, devoted wife, and helpmate. Comfort her with the hope of eternal life in according to her great need, be Thou with her sufficiently day by day until that bright morning dawns when she shall see again the face of him whom she has loved long since and lost awhile.

"We make this petition for Thy rich blessing upon the Nation and the world in the name of Him who is the resurrection and the life, Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. Amen."

Mrs. Harding was deeply affected by the prayer, but maintained her composure.

The body reposed in a drab brown steel coffin, lined with white silk, and was banked with flowers. The only inscription, engraved on a silver plate, was "Warren Gamaliel Harding."

After the service the casket was reverently borne to a large gray automobile hearse and the funeral procession moved to the train, a half-mile away through streets lined with silent, sympathetic people. Mrs. Harding, who had stood the strain so far with remarkable fortitude, was in a closed car close behind, with Mrs. Remsberg, Mr. Harding's sister, and several other women

of the party who had been doing their utmost to comfort her after the previous night's sudden blow.

A military escort accompanied the sad procession to where the special train lay parked at Third and Townsend streets.

Near the hearse rode the honorary pallbearers, Attorney-General Daugherty, Secretaries Work, Wallace, and Hoover, General Pershing, Speaker Gillett, Governor Richardson of California, Mayor Rolph of San Francisco, Rear Admiral Simpson, commander of the Twelfth Naval District including San Francisco, and Major General Norton, commander of the Military District including San Francisco.

Behind the honorary pallbearers walked civic officials of San Francisco and groups of army, navy and marine officers wearing crepe on their swords. Behind the officials came escorts of marines, soldiers and sailors, mounted and afoot.

The casket was carried to the train by the eight active pallbearers, consisting of two sailors, two soldiers, two marines, and two National Guard members.

Silence, more than anything else, characterized the attitude of the thousands who saw the cortege pass on its way from hotel to station. Bared heads, silence, and tears. The only noise was that made by the marching of men and horses.

THE LONG JOURNEY BEGUN

The train bearing President Harding's body on its long journey to Washington, D. C., left the Southern Pacific station, San Francisco, at 7:15 p. m. (11:15 p. m. New York time) on August 3. It proceeded to Ogden, Utah, and Cheyenne, Wyo., over a portion of the route the same train traveled thirty-nine days before, carrying Mr. Harding, then well, happy, and hopeful, to the Pacific Coast and Alaska. Mrs. Harding and the members of the Presidential party accompanied the remains.

Mounted up to a level just above the bottoms of the car windows, so that an almost unobstructed view was afforded

people standing along the line, the President's casket occupied the rear end of the car Superba. It was on this car that the President made the entire trip from Washington. It was in this compartment that he chatted with members of the party and with political leaders and other distinguished persons who from time to time boarded the train.

This car, with most of the other equipment of the special train, was held for the President during his visit to Alaska. Moved from Tacoma after the President sailed, it was waiting for him when, after his ordeal of heat and sun and fatigue at Seattle, he boarded the train for the run down to the Yosemite. It was in his stateroom in this car that he was put to bed at once within a few minutes after boarding the train, and there he remained until just before the train reached San Francisco.



Route Traveled by the Funeral Train that Bore the Body of President Harding from San Francisco to Washington, and Thence to Marion, Ohio, Through an Avenue, 3,000 Miles Long, of His Sorrowing Fellow-Countrymen, Who with Multitudes of Women and Children, Thronged the Route Day and Night to Witness Its Passage in Reverent Silence.

TRIBUTES ALL ALONG THE ROUTE

In the mournful journey she was making with the body of her husband, Mrs. Harding found consolation in the tributes of respect paid her dead husband by the people all along the route. Everywhere, after the funeral train left San Francisco, twenty-four hours after the sudden and tragic death of President Harding, there was an outpouring of men, women, and children to show their sympathy for the widow and their regard for the memory of the man who was the head of the national government.

All through the night people were gathered at the railway stations and crossings to see the passage of the funeral train. There appeared to be no diminution in their numbers in the chill and darkness of the small hours of the morning.

At practically every place the scene was the same. The people were grouped, standing silently and reverently, the men with bared heads, the women with tears in their eyes, the children looking wonderingly at the long line of cars composing the special train. Ex-service men, many wearing their wartime uniforms, stood at salute. Where they bore their flags they gave that tribute of honor known as dipping the colors.

No stops were made by the train except when it was necessary to change engines or for other operational purposes. At Reno, Nevada, before 6 o'clock Saturday morning, during a brief stop, the bells of churches, schools and public buildings were tolled. The Governor of Nevada, James G. Scrugham, was there with State and city officials. People were massed in the railway station in large numbers. Organizations of war veterans were drawn up in military formations. Floral wreaths from the State and the cities of Reno and Sparks were placed on the train.

So it was through the night and so it was through the following days as the funeral train made its way eastward over an arid sage-brush country, its desolation broken at intervals by small towns and villages.

Those who gathered at the railway stations and along the wayside were able to catch a glimpse of the metallic casket in which the body of the dead President lay. Through the windows of the "Superba" they could see the casket on a raised catafalque guarded by men in uniform bearing arms. Two soldiers in khaki, a sailor in the familiar blue dress, and a marine in blue, stood there, rigid, leaning on their rifles, one man at each corner of the platform on which the casket rested.

The private car Elmonte had been attached to the funeral train just ahead of the car containing the body of the dead President. This was done for the accommodation of Mrs. Harding. She was offered additional sleeping and living compartments in this car, but she would have none of it. She informed the railway officials that she would make the return journey to Washington in the same car in which she and her husband had journeyed to the Pacific Coast and would occupy the room she had occupied on that journey. This room was a few yards away from the observation compartment in which the late President's body lay. The room in which President Harding slept on his transcontinental tour was unoccupied. It adjoined the observation end.

In the funeral car with Mrs. Harding were Gen. and Mrs. Sawyer, and Mr. and Mrs. Malcolm Jennings of Marion, O. These four were her devoted friends. They were intimates of the Hardings in Marion.

The observation end of the funeral car was a floral bower. Its ceiling was almost concealed in great festoons of China asters, with every shade of purple from heliotrope to a deep royal. There were ropes of these asters from three to five inches thick.

Through the darkness of the night the observation end of the car, where the casket was placed, was flooded with a soft light which brought into sharp relief the catafalque, the casket and the figures of the guards. That was all the silent, reverent people saw as the train passed.

At each point where crowds had gathered the train was slowed down. But between stations the train ran at a rapid rate to keep to its fast schedule, necessary to enable it to reach Washington on the following Tuesday afternoon, August 7. An idea of the speed of the funeral train may be gained by the statement that it was scheduled to reach Chicago in four hours' less time than the fastest transcontinental express makes the journey from Sacramento, through which the funeral cortege passed shortly after midnight, August 3. But the tremendous outpouring of people along the route caused delays and the train was several hours late in reaching Chicago, where it was greeted by an immense crowd, and was also late in reaching Washington on August 7, arriving at 10:20 p. m. There it was greeted by another immense gathering of citizens, who witnessed the transfer of the casket from the Union Station to the White House, there to repose in the historic East Room until the hour for its removal to the Capital and the state funeral on the following day.

At 10 a. m. on August 8, after a brief private service in the White House, attended only by Mrs. Harding and a few close friends, the funeral procession moved forth from the White House gates, escorted by massed troops of all branches of the Government service, by President Coolidge, the Cabinet and diplomatic corps, by leaders of Congress, by two former Presidents, William Howard Taft and Woodrow Wilson, and by organizations and citizens prominent in civilian life.

Slowly and majestically the solemn cortege moved through historic Pennsylvania Avenue, lined solidly with walls of mourning people. As the caisson bearing the remains of the departed President passed amid an oppressive silence, bowed heads, torrents of tears and audible anguish was revealed on every hand. Warren G. Harding would have calmed the grief which his death inspired if he could, but he would have gloried in the knowledge that he had achieved the highest ambition of his life, the love, esteem and respect of his fellow-men.

SERVICE AT THE CAPITOL

Arriving at the Capitol the body of President Harding was taken from the caisson while the Marine Band played "Lead, Kindly Light," the artillery fired minute guns in the distance and the President's flag, draped in crepe, was dipped in salute to the departed Chief Magistrate.

When the casket was placed in the rotunda, with Mrs. Harding seated nearby, President Coolidge and Chief Justice Taft immediately stepped forward and placed wreaths on the casket, the former at the head and the latter at the foot. Generals of the Army, admirals of the Navy, Congressmen, Cabinet officers, women and diplomats then gave silent play to their emotions. Even Gen. Gouraud, the one-armed French commander of the American "Rainbow Division" in the battle of the Vesle front, who has faced death fearless in its most tragic forms, did not attempt to hide his emotions.

The Rev. J. Freeman Anderson, pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, Washington, of which Mr. and Mrs. Harding were devout attendants, assisted by the Rev. James Shera Montgomery, chaplain of the House of Representatives, opened the brief ceremony with an invocation. The male quartet of the same church rendered the hymns, "Nearer, My God, to Thee" and "Lead, Kindly Light," the dead President's favorites. With the reading of Scripture and a closing prayer, the official funeral services came to a close.

The passage read was the same as that which Mr. Harding had before him when he kissed the Bible page at his inauguration ceremonies. It was the 8th verse of the 6th chapter of Micah: "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with they God?"

All present recited the 23rd Psalm, which reverberated under

the gigantic dome like the singing of an anthem, but it was punctuated by a tremor in the human voice which plainly indicated the effort which it called forth.

At the conclusion of the public funeral at three minutes before noon, and after Mrs. Harding had been escorted from the hall, the invited guests advanced to the casket which was covered by the wreaths placed upon it.

The Capitol was then thrown open to the public and immense lines of citizens passed the bier in lines four abreast, to pay a last personal tribute. The body lay in state for this purpose until 5 p. m. An hour later it was taken to the station and placed again in the car which bore him to Washington for the final, sad trip to the home which knew and appreciated him most.

All along the railroad route to Marion similar scenes were enacted to those that had marked the funeral journey from San Francisco to Washington. Every city, town, and hamlet poured out its inhabitants to stand in silent sorrow as the body of the lamented President passed on its last journey home.

* * *

How the Nations Mourned

Official and non-official France went into mourning for President Harding August 4, with the long and stately avenues of Paris, so often bedecked with American flags since 1917, covered again with the Stars and Stripes. This time, however, the flags were at half-mast, and every flagpole was swathed in crepe.

Special orders, issued for the day of the President's funeral, ordained that the French flag should fly at half-mast throughout the territory of the Republic on all public buildings, barracks and ships.

The spontaneous mourning of the people, however, was far more impressive than the official action. Hardly a hotel in the central districts of Paris but flew the American flag, often several

of them, wreathed in crepe. All through the residential sections and out towards the Etoile district, the same expression of sympathy for the American nation prevailed—flags flying sometimes from the houses of the rich, such as Senator Paul Dupuy, sometimes from houses of a much humbler appearance.

Gen. Gouraud was chosen to represent France at the funeral of President Harding at Marion, O.

It was suggested in London that a memorial service for President Harding be held at Westminster abbey coincidently with the funeral at Washington. The king was said to desire this mark of respect for the head of the American state and the abbey authorities were willing. The service was duly held.

Georges Tchitcherin, Russian soviet foreign minister, in a message of sympathy to Mrs. Harding and to America, cabled:

"The Russian government wishes to express the respectful sympathy of the Russian people for the United States. Russia gratefully remembers that it was under President Harding's administration that America's great generosity came to the aid of Russia in our hour of need."

Manila on August 4, was a strange, silent city of sorrow, a mood to which this gala tropical metropolis was unaccustomed. Flags were at half mast on all government buildings and crepe decks the doors of most of the business houses as tribute to the memory of President Harding.

All routine at army camps in Manila and surrounding posts was temporarily suspended except for necessary fatigue duties. Because it was Saturday, banks remained open to cash checks and receive deposits; otherwise no business was being transacted. All social activities at clubs and hotels were called off for the day, as were all sporting events. Schools and colleges dismissed their classes.

In Japan, Premier Kato, who had been ill for several days, on August 4, issued a statement to the Japanese press in which he

said that the late President Harding was "the greatest worker in the peace movement." The premier added: "His immediate contribution is known throughout the world, to which his death is an immeasurable loss."

The Belgian court, by order of King Albert, was in mourning until August 10 for President Harding.

The Peruvian congress decided to proclaim national mourning on the day President Harding was buried.

The executive department of the Mexican government decreed that the flag be flown at half mast on all public buildings for three days as Mexico's "homage to Mr. Harding's memory, for his friendship to Mexico as demonstrated by the important step the late President took to bring about the resumption of diplomatic relations between both countries."

When the death of President Harding was announced officially in the Polish chamber of deputies at Warsaw, August 3, all the deputies rose and continued standing while Vice-Speaker Moraczewski talked of Poland's gratitude to the United States.

"None of us will forget what we owe the United States," he said. "None of us will forget the relief America gave us when we were weak after seven years of war. In the name of this assembly I express simple but sincere sympathy and sorrow for the death of President Harding."

* * *

"The President Is Dead"

(Chicago Evening Post, August 3, 1923)

The nation called him from a little mid-western town to its highest office and its most burdensome task. He came reluctantly, conscious that the responsibility was even greater than the honor, but accepting the summons of the people as the voice of destiny, with a simple faith that God would guide

and strengthen him for duty, and the devotion of a loyal heart to the cause of America.

He had served his state with fidelity, and the same fidelity was given to his country. A man of kind and neighborly spirit, loving that simplicity of life which has been so often the foundation of great character and the mold of leadership in America, he brought to the presidency a homely wisdom, a steadfast determination to serve, a deep and inspiring trust in the high purpose and sound ideals of the people.

They gave him their confidence in a measure, counted in numbers, exceeding that reposed in any former President. Today they realize it was not misplaced. To the full limit of his ability and strength, yes, and beyond, as events have proved, he answered it.

There was a modesty and a tolerance in his leadership which was sometimes mistaken for weakness; but the achievements of his too short regime are sufficient testimony to the quiet power of mind and heart which lay beneath a gentle and patient manner.

The country faced the bewildering problems which had come to it as a heritage of war. Mingled with the weariness of its relaxation from tense strain was the irritability and uncertainty which are inseparable from life in a world strangely disordered and hectically abnormal. He moved calmly and slowly to meet these difficult conditions. No rash empiricist, with ready-made formulae, he felt his way, doing great things quietly, seeking to harmonize, to stabilize, to restore faith and neighborliness.

He made peace with our enemies; he called our former comrades in arms to conference in the cause of peace, and gave America chief place as leader in the movement toward a disarmed world. He reorganized our finances and set the business of government upon a new plane of economic efficiency.

He was leading us on to larger cooperation in the sphere of world affairs. The vision of America sharing in the establishment of international order and security under the rule of reason and of law was before his eyes as he set forth on the long and exigent journey which is now ended.

That journey, made in part so that he might talk to the people of the things which were dearest to his purpose for their good, and in part that he might understand better the problems of American domain in the far outpost of Alaska, was the final proof of his untiring devotion to duty.

He gave us his life.

That is the simple, honest meaning of the tragically sudden termination of his career. It seemed to us the fight which his unflagging labors had brought upon him was already won. Our hearts, cheered by the good news from the room where he lay in San Francisco, were unprepared for the tidings of death. He has given us his life. No other words are needed to express our sense of sorrow, our depth of obligation.

We think now with admiration and pride and grieving affection of the brave wife who journeyed with him to the end; who, through the days of his illness, has refused to be parted for a moment from him, and who, in the hour of her great bereavement, as an example and an inspiration to the country he loved, bears herself with a courageous endurance.

In him we had American manhood, bearing high honor modestly, doing great duties simply. In her we have American womanhood, true, devoted, meeting bravely the supreme test.

America sorrows, but sorrows proudly. In these two lives there is the finest tribute to what is best in America.

FEELING IN THE SOUTH

A press dispatch from Atlanta, Ga., on August 3, 1923, said:

"The South mourned today the death of a true friend in the passing of President Warren G. Harding. Many recalled the

four visits which Mr. Harding made to this section after his election to the presidency, pointing out also that he "broke" the "solid South" in 1920, when Tennessee cast its electoral vote for him by big majority. His vote in several of the other States in 1920 exceeded by thousands that which had been given to Republican candidates in many years.

"Mr. Harding spent some weeks in Florida between his election and his induction into the office of President. Scores of leading citizens of the South met him and Mrs. Harding while they were in St. Augustine. It was during that stay that the President picked the members of his Cabinet and considered measures which were brought before Congress after he had assumed the presidency.

"President and Mrs. Harding visited Florida in 1922, and again this year. He also on one other trip in the South, made speeches in Birmingham and Atlanta.

"Leading Southerners here today declared the South had an affection for President Harding similar to that which was entertained toward President McKinley. This feeling, they said, brought the people of the South closer to the Federal Government than had been the case some years ago. In thousands of homes in this section there is a feeling of sadness at the passing of the President of the United States."

In expression of our respect for the memory
of the late President of the United States,

Warren Gamaliel Harding

all offices of the undersigned companies will
be closed and all work, other than that re-
quired to maintain public services, suspended
on the day of the funeral, Friday, August 10,

North American Power and Light Company
and Subsidiaries

Illinois Power and Light Corporation
and Subsidiaries

Illinois Traction, Inc.
and Subsidiaries

William A. Barker Organization

How the Public Utilities Paid Tribute to President Harding's Memory—A
Typical Announcement.

CHAPTER XXIII.

LAST RITES AT MARION

**Journey Ended in His Father's House in the Old Home Town
—Marion in the Deepest Mourning—Unnumbered Thou-
sands Pass the Bier for Sixteen Hours—Simple Procession
to the Cemetery — Services by the Pastor of His Old
Church— Scenes in the Cemetery — The Last Resting
Place.**

The body of President Harding arrived at Marion, Ohio, on August 9, and was borne from the station through reverent crowds to the house of his aged and grief-stricken father, Dr. George T. Harding, where it lay in homely state for sixteen hours before the final rites and interment in the vault of the Marion cemetery.

The city was crowded by innumerable thousands who had journeyed from near and far, by train, automobile and farm wagon to be present at the closing scene with the 30,000 neighbors and friends of Marion's beloved citizen. A military officer estimated the total attendance at 200,000. They came and came from everywhere, until they crowded every street and by-way which the late President knew and loved so well.

For sixteen hours, night and day, before the funeral procession started to move, people filed past the casket with uncovered heads, at the rate of about forty per minute. When at last it became necessary, at 1 o'clock on Friday, August 10, to close the doors to make ready for the final procession, there still were thousands waiting.

There were thousands, too, who early gave up hope of being able to see the dead President, because of the numbers already in line, with little or no chance of reaching their goal.

But it was a most orderly crowd. Whether in the downtown business sections, in the vicinity of the Harding home, the lanes to the cemetery or elsewhere, it was a crowd of mourning. Soldiers were needed, but only to keep the lines straight and to direct the throng along routes laid out for them. Boy Scouts locked hands and aided the soldiers in keeping the crowd back on the sidewalk opposite the Harding home when the casket was borne to the hearse.

The route of the funeral cortege from the home to the cemetery was lined with other thousands, many of whom had been waiting there since midnight; and as it passed the outward evidences of grief were unmistakable. Women wept and strong men broke down in overwhelming sorrow.

"Harding, of Ohio, is home tonight, sleeping time away near the mother at whose knee his first childish dream of greatness was prattled," said an Associated Press dispatch on the night of Friday, August 10, 1923, when the body of President Harding was deposited with simple religious rites in the vault of the Marion cemetery, pending the erection of an appropriate mausoleum.

"Before his tomb as the chiming verses of the female choir sang softly among the trees, 'Nearer, My God, to Thee,' another tender, brave woman stood with aching heart, her veiled face lifted to the sky. A moment later she stepped a meager moment into the dim vault where her dead husband's journey of life had ended. Then she turned away, brave to the last, to face the lonely years ahead.' She waited not to see the iron gates close softly upon her dead.

"Harding is home forever from life's high places, where the restless, heady winds of ambition blow; home beneath Ohio

soil, for above him the vaulted roof is mantled with grass-grown sod; home among the friends and neighbors of his youth, the kindly people of a kindly town. Time is ended for him, and the shouting and clamor that surrounds the great is done."

It was a long road to that silent vault about which there closed at night a guard of the citizen soldiery of his own State. There was endless ceremony of the nation's and the people's making to mark the way. But it ended simply, calmly, and as the dead would have had it end.

Aside from the multitude that walled the long way from his father's home to the vault and those others close packed to make a living setting for the funeral scene, there was not much to mark it as the burial of one who had held highest power in his grasp. There were the tanned men of his guard from the sister services of the nation, the admirals and the generals who formed his honor escort, the friend and comrade who now is President in his stead, the colleagues of his grief-stricken Cabinet. That was all, except at the last, distant gun-fire as he came to his tomb and the soft tones of a bugle sounding a soldier requiem as the gates were closed.

Otherwise the funeral service was that of a simple and much-loved citizen of Ohio. For all Ohio seemed to have come to bid him farewell. Throngs whose number will never be known passed beside his casket and looked their last upon the dead face before the time for the last journey came.

From his father's house he went out again, carried by the steadfast men who had stood constantly to guard a dead commander. No solemn music of bands or military pageant marked his going save the great flag of the President drooping in mourning and carried before him to the gates of the tomb as he went.

In cars behind the simple hearse that carried the honored dead came President Coolidge and the Cabinet and the friends and close kin. There too came Chief Justice Taft and General Persh-

ing. Last to leave the memorable house was Mrs. Harding, in black and with veil drawn close, and just ahead of her walked the old father, his face plainly showing the agony of his grief. Through the silent, face-walled streets the cortege passed and around the corner to the quiet cemetery. As it came toward the gates the guns spoke afar in honor.

The vault stands ivy-wrapped and set back into the gentle hill with little space before it. So the funeral train was halted at a distance and the casket lifted down to be carried to a resting-place before the open entrance of the tomb. Already a group of Senators, who knew the dead President under the Capitol dome before he passed to the White House, were already gathered in waiting, in line across the roadway that runs before the entrance. With them stood the comrades of camping days, Henry Ford, Thomas A. Edison and H. S. Firestone.

The Cabinet family came to stand closer, at the foot of the casket, with their new chief standing sorrowfully among them. The admirals in gleaming white lined the way to the left, the generals to the right and beyond; behind the Cabinet stood the little party of intimates and friends who made the Alaska journey that death broke so suddenly.

Then came Dr. Harding with the snows of his eighty years showing on his bared head, and then the brave widow walking to her place at the right of the casket with Secretary Christian and the members of the grief-bowed family.

Within the shadow of the doorway of the vault, the ministers took their place and from the shrubbery that screened them the choir sang "Lead, Kindly Light." The last service for Warren Harding had begun.

Prayers followed, spoken by an old friend of the dead President; the scriptural passages that hearten men in sorrow were read and again the choir sang. The last hymn of the simple, reverent service was "Nearer, My God, to Thee" and as the

softly blending voices came to the last chords, Mrs. Harding slowly raised her veiled face and stood as though in prayer to Him above that the dead husband who in a moment would be shut away from her forever might know that peace beyond understanding which God's mercy holds out to humanity at the last.

The voices died away and with lifted hand, Bishop Anderson of the Methodist Episcopal Church pronounced the benediction:

"Now unto Him that is able to keep us from falling and to present us faultless before the presence of His glory, with exceeding joy, to the only wise God, our Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now, and forever more. Amen."

The funeral party and the hundreds who ringed them about stood motionless and silent a moment. Then the soldiers and sailors and marines who had kept the honor watch all the way from San Francisco and who alone had carried the casket, stepped forward. Facing the tomb, they lifted it slowly, and slowly bore it in through the shadowy doorway. And at that moment the nation stood silent in sorrow.

Back to the dim depth of the crypt of stone and earth the bearers went with their burden, then turned to file out stiffly at attention in double line, forming a corridor of honor. Mrs. Harding raised her veil slightly and swept the moisture from her brow and lips. It was still and hot where the light breeze was shut off by the crowding sorrowful people about her, but it did not seem that even now it was tears she wiped away.

As the bearers came out she leaned to whisper to Secretary Christian. Then she stepped forward on his arm, to pass just within the ivy-grown doorway beyond which lay the flag-draped casket, hardly visible in the dim vault. She halted but a moment in this final farewell, then turned to walk slowly down the roadway to the waiting motor car that rolled her swiftly away.

After she had gone, President Coolidge with Mrs. Coolidge stepped to her place within the doorway, they too standing but a

moment. As they turned to pass out the great iron barrier was swung softly shut and Warren Harding was at home forever in the town he loved.

Down beyond where a green lawn stretched under the trees, the khaki tents of the guardsmen gleamed. As the sorrowing company before the vault moved away to the waiting cars, the guardsmen again took their places before the vault, flaming with the beauty of the flowers that banked it about. And the hundreds who had stood to watch the simple ceremony that committed a simple American to the keeping of his God, drifted slowly away to leave him alone when dark fell for the sleep that knows no end.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ANECDOTES OF MR. HARDING

Wrote Insurance While Studying—Capacity for Detail—Asks Pardon for a Dog—In the Home Town—Banking a Gallon of Pennies—Consideration for Reporters—Made Alaskans His Friends—The Harding Glee Club of 1920—Arranges His Affairs—Plans His Return to Private Life.

Warren Harding wrote insurance while studying law in Marion, Ohio, and his first big contract was the writing of the insurance on the Hotel Marion, then owned by Amos Kling. He never dreamed at that time that one day he would be the husband of Florence Kling, the daughter of his patron, much less that he would ever be President.

The future President's first political venture came when he sought the office of county clerk. Marion County at the time was overwhelmingly Democratic, and he was decisively beaten.

His capacity for detail astonished his intimates. On one occasion he visited the Marion Star on a holiday. He was helping "get out the paper" in the editorial room. Suddenly the presses stopped. The chief executive rushed downstairs to the pressroom and within a few minutes had located the defect in the machinery and repaired it himself.

As another instance of the same quality, it is recalled that when he bought his first automobile—and they were a curiosity in those days—he learned to drive and repair it before his chauffeur did.

President Harding was called the "world's greatest joiner." He was a member or officer of practically every fraternal organ-

ization of importance in the country, and many small ones, including the Newsboys' Federation and several Indian tribes.

Mr. Harding had not ridden horseback for twenty years when he took his first ride on Harbel, a thoroughbred Kentucky mount. The 3-year-old sorrel gelding seemed to appreciate the importance of his rider, and treated him with the utmost gentleness. The President soon became an excellent rider, and was afterwards greatly attached to his favorite mount.

The President once took occasion to write a lengthy personal letter to Governor Sproul of Pennsylvania, appealing for a nondescript dog, whose life was in jeopardy. The dog had been sentenced to death by a justice of the peace because of his ownership by an alien. In his letter he said that both he and Mrs. Harding had been touched by the dog's predicament. Governor Sproul immediately "pardoned" the dog.

* * *

Mr. Harding—then Senator—was excessively human. After his nomination for the presidency at Chicago, he retired to the Hotel La Salle. When he emerged the corridor of his floor was thronged with more than one hundred newspaper men. The presidential nominee started to shake hands with each one, when the present attorney general, Harry A. Daugherty, then his campaign manager, rushed up.

"Senator, you'll miss your train—it leaves in fifteen minutes." Then turning to the waiting host Daugherty said:

"Sorry, boys, but the Senator has to rush."

"Wait a minute," interjected Senator Harding. "There'll be lots of other trains, but not lots of other gatherings like this. I'm going to say hello to all these men, who represent the nation, if it takes all night."

And he did, one by one. He caught a later train.

On the way to the station, a group of Washington newspaper correspondents and a Chicago reporter preceded the Senator's

automobile. At La Salle and Madison Streets, a street car crashed into the scribe's automobile, turning it around and throwing it against the curb. None was hurt. When both cars arrived at the Union station, the presidential nominee burst from his machine and dashed to the press car.

"None of you boys were hurt, were you?" he inquired solicitously. "God, I'm glad."

* * *

When he was nominated for the presidency his co-workers on the Marion Star presented him with a solid gold makeup rule.

Jack Warwick, now on the Toledo Blade, once was the President's partner in the ownership of the Marion Star. "I have seen 'W. G.' marching down to the bank with a gallon of pennies in each hand," he writes. "I was always curious to know how many pennies made a gallon."

"Your great weakness," a friend once remarked, "is that you think everybody's good until you find 'em bad." "Well," replied the President, "that's a pretty good weakness, I guess."

* * *

It will be many a day before the people of Alaska forget the visit of President Harding, according to a letter from Scott C. Bone, Governor of Alaska, written on July 27, 1923, to William Griffin, vice-president of the American Press Association, New York.

"President Harding, because of his genuine friendliness with every one who came in contact with him, has endeared himself to all Alaska," wrote the Governor. "It will be many a day before the people of this great Territory forget his visit."

Governor Bone added that photographs made of President Harding in Alaska are to be preserved in the historical museum.

* * *

The story of a convention glee club which sang the praises of Warren G. Harding throughout the 1920 Republican convention

in Chicago and which was credited in some quarters with having initiated the swell of Harding sentiment, which culminated in the nomination, was recalled after his death by Chicago hotel men.

From the opening hour of the convention the glee club, composed of a bare handful of Harding supporters, mostly Ohioans, nightly paraded the corridors of the Congress hotel singing for "a big man for a big place—Warren G. Harding for President."

At first regarded merely as the natural enthusiasm for a native son, the glee club's central idea grew in the convention until the burden of the song became a reality.

When the Harding vote stood around 25, the singing Buckeyes did their stunt with firmer voice. On the opening day of the convention, the musical booming was virtually the only surface indication that the future President was in town. The song seemed almost pathetic in its futility. But they sang on—up and down the city block of brilliantly decorated halls, night after night "Harding for President—a big man for a big place."

* * *

When President Harding was in Cincinnati, preparatory to making the trip to Point Pleasant, Ohio, to speak at the Grant Centennial, in April, 1922, the Cincinnati reception committee planned an extensive entertainment for him on the pleasure steamer *Island Queen*.

At the last moment plans were changed and he and his party boarded a government boat for the trip up the river. As the *Island Queen* was nearing its destination a section of the upper decks collapsed, injuring many Cincinnati people and several members of the Manchester, Ohio, Boys' Band.

One boy, whose back it was believed, was broken, was removed to Christ Hospital, where he was a patient for several weeks, and his days were gladdened by frequent inquiries from Mrs. Harding and the President, long after they had returned to Washington.

One of the first acts of the President and Mrs. Harding was

to send a large bouquet of flowers to the lad and his injuries were forgotten as he gazed at the gift which had come from the nation's Chief Executive.

Many times after the accident, President Harding inquired of Cincinnati friends about the boy, who was improving steadily at his home in Manchester, Ohio.

* * *

Dr. George T. Harding, Jr., brother of the late President, said after his death that, before starting on his western trip, the President placed his personal affairs in shape, much as though he might have feared he would never return alive.

Through friends and members of his immediate family, the President before starting for Alaska, besides made a new will, reorganized his financial investments, sold his newspaper, the Marion Star, and disposed of the farm, recently purchased, near Blooming Grove, Ohio, on which he spent his early boyhood.

The farm was deeded to George T. Harding 3d, son of his brother, Dr. George T. Harding, Jr., of Columbus and Worthington, Ohio. The 280-acre farm had been in the possession of the family for years, and it was the President's wish that it remain in the family. It was given to the nephew with the understanding that Warren G. and Dr. George Harding Jr., would retain a life interest in it.

* * *

When death overtook him in San Francisco President Harding, although apparently confident of his re-election in 1924, already had begun to formulate plans against the time when he finally should retire from the White House.

At a private luncheon in a western city before he went to Alaska he told some of his close friends the reasons which had impelled him to dispose of his control in the Marion Star and discussed the part he expected to take in other fields of activity after his public service was over.

As the story was told in Washington after the funeral, by those who took part in the conversation Mr. Harding said that in all probability he would accept an offer of \$25,000 a year made by one of the leading newspapers of the country for editorial contributions. This, he said, would give him a much-desired opportunity of getting his views before the people and assisting in solving national and international problems.

He had also open, he added, an offer of a large fee for each lecture and speech he might deliver after the expiration of his term as President.

* * *

At their home town of Marion, Ohio, Mr. and Mrs. Harding, before removing to Washington, lived in an attractive though not ostentatious house on Mount Vernon Avenue. The furnishings of the house were rich and tasteful, but there was no sign of gaudiness. Many little things had been picked up in Europe and were used as decorations in Mr. Harding's "den." Books were everywhere to be found—in the library and out of the library. Not long ago Mr. Harding executed a long cherished plan in the purchase of the farm on which he was born, to be rehabilitated and kept by him as a rural home.

* * *

President Harding's acid test for everything that was proposed to him, that is, involving his participation, was to ask himself if it would be becoming. His heart must have had equal authority with his head in the making of many decisions. For example, on a trip to his home town it was proposed that he stay at Dr. Sawyer's farm, which is also a sanatorium. Other splendid homes were suggested, since a fairly imposing staff had accompanied him to Marion. But he vetoed all of these propositions and said that he would stay at the home of his father.

It is a frame house, ornamented with the wooden lace of scroll saws, crowded with an assortment of furniture, none of which was

designed to serve a President of the United States. There were bamboo whatnots, horsehair sofas, creaky-springed morris chairs, but it was the home of Warren Harding's father and he went there, slapped his straw hat on one of the pegs of the hall tree, swung himself out of his coat and announced that he was glad to be "home."

It was dark in the hall, but the few friends who still hovered on the lawn fancied they could see the immeasurable pride of the white-haired old man who possessed the sole right to call the President of the United States "son."

* * *

Mr. Harding's deep loyalty to his friends was always apparent. If you enjoyed his faith his eyes never encountered yours without warming.

After each biweekly Cabinet meeting from fifty to a hundred or more newspapermen of Washington would be ushered into the circular green room that served as his office. Standing behind his desk he would shuffle a handful of slips of paper upon which questions had been written. He would read aloud such as he was prepared to discuss or answer. Some he turned down on the table without a word, although his mobile features might tighten significantly. Then, when all of the questions had been disposed of and the correspondents were beginning to move slowly from the room, he might see in this throng one of the correspondents who had kept at his coattails throughout the campaign.

"Why, hello, there." To hear him say it the least credulous person in the world might feel that he had been longing for just such an encounter. "Now, tell me—How are the children?"

He had a habit of clinging to the hand of the person he greeted as if he sought to avoid the appearance of being in a hurry. It must have been his own strong disappointment at not having children that caused him to be genuinely interested in those that were around him. But there can be small doubt that he endowed

at least one person with the affection that he might have lavished on a son and that was his secretary, Christian.

* * *

Before the President entered politics actively Mr. Christian worked as a cub reporter on "The Marion Star." When he married he moved into a house next door to the one that the Hardings had built for themselves. The babies of the Christians were equally at home in the house of the Hardings and the tall, straight young West Pointer, who is now First Lieutenant Warren Harding Christian, according to his father, was actually confused, as a baby, as to which house was his home.

When Mr. Harding went to Washington as Senator from Ohio he invited George Christian to go along as his secretary, Christian protested that he didn't feel equal to the job.

"Well, I want you to come and that settles it, doesn't it?"

During the Presidential campaign several men managed to accumulate authority around campaign headquarters to a degree that caused their names to be mentioned in the speculation concerning the identity of the man who would be named secretary to the President—a post of responsibility almost equal to that of a Cabinet member.

"I know nothing of politics" predicted one of Marion's substantial citizens after overhearing some of this speculation one night, "but I can assure you of one thing, George Christian has been Senator Harding's secretary and he will be President Harding's secretary. Warren never goes back on his friends."

* * *

If Warren Harding rode on anything he wanted to go fast. His idea of a comfortable pace in an automobile was fifty miles an hour, and if that was not his habitual rate of country travel in an automobile forty or forty-five miles was. Anything less did not satisfy his desire for speed.



P. & A. Photos.

Above—The Funeral Train in Chicago. A Scene Typical of the Outpouring of Multitudes in Sorrow as the Body of President Harding Was Transported from Coast to Coast.

Below—Military Escort Carrying the Body of the Dead President Into His Father's House in Marion, Ohio.



P. & A. Photos.

Above—Mrs. Harding, Accompanied by Brig.-Gen. Sawyer, the Late President's Physician, and George B. Christian, Jr., Secretary to the President, Leaving the House of Dr. George T. Harding, in Marion, Ohio, for the Cemetery.
Below—The Final Scene. The Late President's Pastor Reading the Last Service Outside the Vault in the Marion Cemetery, While the Nation's Great and Lowly Join in Sad Farewell.

Frank Blacksten became his chauffeur at least six years before he ever could have thought of himself as a possible President of the United States.

"Don't let anybody tell you the boss is slow," boasted Frank one time. "Say, one night we were coming back from Columbus and a fellow was hogging the road in front of us. I kept blowing the horn and he wouldn't get over and he wouldn't go faster. Finally the boss says, 'Here, gimme that wheel,' and he gave a blast of the horn and stepped on the gas and we went by that fellow and took one of his fenders with us."

* * *

No one resented more than the President himself in those days when he was merely the candidate that an impression should exist that he was merely the creature of a group of powerful Senators.

"If you should think I'm a stuffed shirt in this campaign," he said one time, "don't utter the thought around the Marion Club. Those men know me."

Their faith in him was and is inspiring. It never wavered. His selection at Chicago in 1920 was, to their way of thinking, an operation of Divine Providence. If he was criticized, the critic was wise who uttered the criticism elsewhere than in Marion.

But it was really difficult in Marion to get a picture of him as an American statesman although some one was always ready to buttonhole any one who would listen to tell about the time when Warren played poker and lost the money with which he should have bought news print; or the time when he joined an almost stranded company of actors and played in a nearby town; or how he calmly went ahead and built a house and was married to Mrs. Harding in the parlor of this new dwelling in spite of the outspoken objections of her father, then the richest man in town; or about the time the Marion Silver Band, in which he played a

French horn, went to Portsmouth—or perhaps it was Xenia—and won the first prize, a silver loving cup.

* * *

President Harding, Mrs. Harding and other members of the Presidential party on his last visit to New York, in April, 1923, paid a midnight visit to the new plant of the New York Tribune in West Fortieth Street.

For more than an hour the President immersed himself completely in the self-imposed task of "putting the paper to bed." Mrs. Harding seemed as much interested as the former publisher of "The Marion Star," for she herself possesses a practical knowledge of the mechanics of a newspaper plant.

It was in the composing room that President Harding—especially to the eyes of the practical printers who watched every movement of the distinguished visitor—reached supreme delight. The make-up man in charge of the editorial page of the Tribune gladly gave way to the President. The President remarked that he held a union card as a journeyman printer.

With grace and speed the President picked up the set-up lines from the linotypes and dropped them into place. Moreover, he worked with both hands—an exhibition of skill that came from long schooling in his Marion office. A printer's composing stone, whether of old-fashioned marble or of steel, is not always clean. There is more or less ink on the set type left over from the proof-taking, and there is likely to be some grease, or dirty water, and it was small wonder that before many minutes President Harding's hands were as they were in the old days when he hustled to make up his own newspaper, discolored with ink and grease. But he didn't mind the dirt. He was enthusiastic over the job in hand, and he soon had the columns filled with the set-up lines. With the columns filled out and justified, the President reached for a printer's plane and mallet, and soon had the page as smooth as a table top. When it was ready for the stereotypers, the Presi-

dent grinned, and smilingly acknowledged the compliments of the composing-room men, who recognized in the Chief Executive a man who could go into any composing room in the land and give a good account of himself.

The President was equally at home in other departments of the new plant, and left after an hour with complimentary words for the plant and its owners.

* * *

Mr. Harding was sentimental beyond words and celebrated anniversaries with enthusiasm. It was his birthday and election night as well. On the table of the Harding home, at 380 Mount Vernon Avenue, was a cake covered with candles and decorated with pink icing. A small group of people straggled up the front walk and onto the porch. One of the women in the party stepped over to the bell, hesitated a moment and then rang it. There was a brief exchange of words with the negro who opened the door and then Mr. Harding appeared, his table napkin still in his hand.

One of the group stumbled through a carefully prepared presentation speech and then—it was old Luther Miller, a long-bearded printer, oldest employee of the "The Marion Star" fairly poked a gift into the editor's hand. It was a golden printer's rule. Then the old printer delivered the last line of his speech. He said that everybody on "The Star" knew that the country was going to have a good President.

It was the editor of "The Star" who tried to speak then. His face twitched. The lines beside his nose and mouth deepened and then tears streamed from his eyes. He tried again to make some kind of reply and then he just began to shake hands with all of them. When he had done that he did talk. But his real speech that night was in the tears and the handshake.

* * *

Boyden Sparkes, of the New York Tribune, tells of a notable experience with the President after his election as follows:

"Those of us who were fortunate enough to cover the campaign as a newspaper assignment decided to give him a dinner as an acknowledgment of his courteous treatment. As a jest we termed it the first meeting of the Elephant Club and declared Warren Harding to be Chief Mahout. He accepted the office and then announced that the next meeting would be in the White House. That was gracefully said and we dismissed it as a light remark, but within a little more than a month after his inauguration each reporter received a telegram from George B. Christian declaring that a meeting of the Elephant Club had been called, that we were to present ourselves at the White House for dinner.

"It was an evening to remember. He turned on all the lights, used all the servants, the state dining room, had a flashlight photograph taken for the first time in the existence of that historic room, and then led us about the place with as much interest as if he was an invader. He showed us what used to be Abraham Lincoln's bedroom and there were Warren Harding's bedroom slippers placed before a chair on which his bathrobe was carefully laid and on the bed itself were the Presidential pajamas. His manner indicated that the President was out for the evening and that through some magic Warren Harding of 'The Marion Star' had obtained possession of the keys of the White House and was determined to show a few friends a thoroughly good time. And that is only one of the reasons why I say it was always difficult to think of him as the President of the United States."

* * *

Harding's ability to "talk on his feet" probably led to his entrance into politics, although as owner and editor of a successful paper in Ohio he would have had political influence in any event. He aligned himself with the Republican party even before he was a voter and soon became a member of the Republican County Committee, at the meetings of which he was a regular attendant.

He made his first political speech in the early nineties, in the hamlet of Martel, near Marion. After a while his oratory attracted the attention of the state Republican leaders and soon he found himself billed to speak with McKinley, Foraker, and other notables among the Ohio Republicans. Thus developed Harding's close friendship for McKinley, to whom he has been so often likened.

From speaking for others, Harding naturally turned to speaking for himself. In 1898 the voters of Hardin, Logan, Marion and Union counties elected him to the State Senate, and rather against precedent he was re-elected for another term. In his first public office of consequence he performed his duties satisfactorily, but without particular distinction and continued to make friends.

During this period he was particularly friendly with the Foraker faction and was classed as an adherent of the then United States Senator in the bitter fights between groups of Ohio Republicans. Yet, years later, when the Foraker-Standard Oil correspondence was published, his editorial criticism of Foraker was as caustic as anything he ever printed.

* * *

By 1912, when the Taft-Roosevelt differences were wide open, Harding was a well known regular of his party and was chosen to place Taft in nomination for the Presidency. It was the foremost honor he had received from his party.

Harding campaigned for Taft, whom he later named Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and on the stump and in his editorial columns assailed Roosevelt for having "split" the party, a cardinal sin in his eyes. This was the first time in his political career that Harding "called names" and gained the enmity of a wing of the party.

His loyalty was rewarded in 1914 by his nomination for United States Senator. He became known even in Washington as a

"harmonizer," and was made Chairman of the National convention in 1916. Even then he was mentioned as a "dark horse" of the party.

After the following election Roosevelt called Harding to New York for a conference and said:

"We've got to get together to restore the Republican party to power and save this country of ours."

It was decided that past differences should be forgotten and that all hands would pull together.

* * *

President Harding liked to tell the story of his political debut in Marion County—the first step along a road which was to lead him so far.

"As I remember it," he once said, "it was along about 1890, when I was 25 years old, that the Marion County Republican convention decided not to make any nomination for county auditor. The Democrats had nominated a very popular man, and the attitude of our convention was, 'What's the use?' But I was young, and I said to the convention, 'Now, that's no way to create a party in Marion county. If we're going to have a party, let's fight for it.' All right, they said, and nominated me for county auditor. They gave me a dose of my own medicine. I was not elected."

The important fact, however, was that he was conspicuously enlisted as a trustworthy and self-sacrificing party wheel horse, and from that time forth the older men around him kept an appreciative eye on him as such.

* * *

The President also liked telling the story of his maiden political speech which preceded the nomination for county auditor by two years.

"I'd say," he remarked in 1920, "that it was made along in 1888. The place was Martel up in the northeastern part of

Marion County. Eleven years later came my maiden speech as a candidate. That was in 1899 when I was first nominated for State Senator in the Thirteenth Ohio district. I have a lively remembrance of the speech, which was made at Bellefontaine in Logan County, because it won me a compliment that I have never ceased to relish. A nice old Scotchman named Henry Pardee who took a kind of fatherly interest in me came up to the platform after I had finished, shook hands and said: 'Young man, if I had your gift of gab I wouldn't be so damn shy about it.'

* * *

Mark Hanna, who was the supreme power in Ohio politics, had through some oversight of his lieutenants failed to take account of Warren Harding's unostentatious gift for quiet maneuvering that left no party rancors, but that did produce decisive results. In 1897 Mr. Hanna went to Marion and made his first speech as candidate for the United States Senate. Mr. Harding retained a vivid impression of the visit and of what grew out of it.

"I was a young editor," he said, "and naturally I wanted to see Hanna, and I tried to. But I couldn't get to him. They turned me away. It wasn't his fault. He told me so later. He simply didn't know that a young editor named Harding, who thought he was some pumpkins in these parts wanted to see him. So I was hurt and sore. The Hanna people had their newspaper and I felt that they thought I didn't matter—but everybody knows all the thnigs that hurt feelings will prompt a man to imagine. So I held aloof and went on about my own business."

Here the President, in telling this story, according to James O'Donnell Bennett, would always pause to point the moral of it.

"Now this shows you," he would say, "how a politician travelling can cross his wires without knowing it, and that was the

reason I decided on a front porch campaign when I was nominated for President. I wanted to avoid those crossed wires.

"But the time came when I beat Hanna in his heyday.

"In 1903, when I was still in the Ohio Senate, I was an aspirant for Governor, but Hanna got George Cox to support Herrick. When my friends asked me what that meant I said, 'It means I am through.' Then Hanna and Cox talked me over for Lieutenant Governor on the ticket with Herrick, for Cox had told Hanna that I was a good campaigner. But Hanna wanted an old soldier on the ticket and told me so.

"So I was not very enthusiastic about making a fight for the nomination for Lieutenant Governor, but Hanna's cavalier attitude sort of got my dander up, and finally I opened headquarters—one room in a hotel—and things began to simmer pretty lively, and got livelier and livelier. My room was full."

Then came the part in the President's narrative which illustrated the kind of campaigning he liked and believed in, and which was also the kind of campaigning that carried him so far. It was the good natured, boyish, jovial kind that hurt nobody's feelings, whipped up enthusiasm, and drew around him those whose convictions did not go very deep and who liked to see a likable man win.

"Somebody," the President recalled, "some genius bought a thousand red carnations, and every delegate to the convention got one with the Harding crowd's compliments. That red carnation emblemized the fight, and Hanna saw as quickly as anybody how strong we were going. He came into my room and waved his hands over his head and said, 'Well, you've got us licked!' He was laughing when he said it, and he added, 'I'll have one old soldier nominate you and another second his nomination.' He kept his word and I was nominated for Lieutenant-Governor by acclamation.

"And that's how," the President would add with a relish laugh, "I beat Hanna in his heyday."

One of President Harding's last unofficial acts before starting on the Alaskan journey that ended in his death was to write a plea for greater study of and reverence for the Constitution of the United States. The letter was written to the National Security League.

"Let me offer this suggestion," he wrote. "We live under a government of and by the people. The source of power is the people. Is not the supreme purpose of education, therefore, to train men and women to rule?"

"Under other forms of government it always has been believed necessary to educate the ruling class in the science of government that they might have knowledge and understanding of the institutions which they would be called on to administer. Here we are all the ruling class.

"Wise and just and righteous government in a democracy must depend upon the wisdom and justice of the people.

"To know our fundamental law and to realize how well it has served its purpose is to reverence it and to be devoted to its preservation. The lesson should be learned in youth.

"To study the lives of these men and their work will increase our devotion to our institutions and fundamental law and will help us to share the inspiration of Lincoln when he said:

"'Let reverence of the law be breathed by every mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, seminaries and colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books and almanacs; let it be preached from pulpits and proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice; let it become the political religion of the nation.'"

"High Spots" in Harding's Administration

These constituted the "high spots" in the events of the Harding administration:

Re-establishment of peace with Germany and Austria.

The calling of the Arms Conference which approved the naval limitation treaty and the four power Pacific pact.

Ratification of the treaty with Colombia resulting from participation of Panama.

Revision of the tax and tariff laws.

Restriction of immigration.

Farmer aid legislation with particular reference to easier credits on more liberal terms.

Establishment of the Budget Bureau.

Veto of the soldiers' bonus bill.

Extension of the program of aid for wounded, sick and disabled veterans of the World War.

Advocacy of American participation in the World Court.

CHAPTER XXV.

CALVIN COOLIDGE, 30TH PRESIDENT

Born on a Vermont Farm—His Early Education and Training—Career at College—A Student of Law—Early Entry Into Politics—State Senator—Lieutenant-Governor and Governor of Massachusetts—The Boston Police Strike—A National Figure—Nominated and Elected Vice-President with Harding—Succeeds the Dead President—Sworn in by His Father—A Dramatic Scene.

Calvin Coolidge, of Massachusetts, Vice-President of the United States, became President upon the death of Warren G. Harding, in San Francisco on the night of August 2, 1923. This was in accordance with the provision of the Federal Constitution providing for succession in the Presidential office in the event of the death of an incumbent in office.

Calvin Coolidge was born on July 4, 1872, and the date of his birth, coinciding with the date of the birth of the nation, always has been spoken of as being typical of the "Calvin Coolidge luck." He is, incidentally, the third native of Vermont to have become Vice-President and it is a coincidence that Chester A. Arthur, one of his distinguished predecessors, became President upon the death of President Garfield. The third was Levi P. Morton, Vice-President with President Benjamin Harrison.

Colonel John Coolidge, farmer, of Plymouth, Vt., is described as the "power behind" that guided his son Calvin in forming his ideas of honor and industry. The father, a stern, religious man, is known throughout Vermont as a man of sagacity and strength. Calvin made his advent into the world on his father's farm. He gained his early "schooling" in that part of the little town known as Plymouth Notch, a short distance from where he lived.

He prepared for Amherst College at Black River Academy in the nearby town of Ludlow and at St. Johnsbury Academy. Some of the most intimate sidelights on his youth were recently obtained from Miss C. Ellen Dunbar, once a school teacher at Plymouth, who lived at the Coolidge home when Calvin was a lad. She calls Calvin a real student, "one without trimmings." His methodical ways developed at an early age, Miss Dunbar said. He never was more than a minute or two early in getting to school and was never late. When school was over he made a beeline for home to attend to his chores, which he never delayed or slighted.

The mother of Mr. Coolidge died when he was in his thirteenth year; his stepmother, who cherished him as though he had been her own son, passed away in 1919. To the influence of these two women Calvin Coolidge owes much that is fine and sympathetic in his nature. Mindful always of the family self-denial, his student career was marked with persistent conscientiousness.

Entering Amherst with the class of 1895, he paid \$3 a week for board. He was a quiet, unassuming man, unknown to many students during his first two years, but gradually winning the respect of the whole college. He was a keen student of the men about him—whether they were professors, fellow-students, or the people of the town, and had a keen sense of humor.

He was a great reader of books, especially on history and government. His diligence in study precluded him from taking much of any part in the activities of the college outside of the regular work. Only in a modest way and as his leisure would permit did he enter into the social life of the college. He took no active part in sports. He was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts and at commencement was the Grove Orator.

If young Coolidge had had money enough to go through law school, that fact might have changed his whole career. As it was, he moved four miles across the Connecticut River, from

Amherst to Northampton, and though he had no acquaintance-ship whatever in the city, found a position at once in the country law office of Hammond & Field. Within twenty months he was admitted to the bar. In the years between 1901 and 1907 he practiced law in Northampton.

Calvin Coolidge entered political life in 1899, when he was twenty-seven years old. Like many American boys he had, even before he was able to vote, shown a deep interest in the political history of his country. In his senior year in Amherst College in 1895, just before his graduation with highest honors, he won the first prize, a gold medal, awarded by the Sons of the American Revolution for the best essay outlining the principles of the American War for Independence. Under-graduates in all American colleges entered this competition and the prize consequently represented a distinguished victory.

His first election to a political office was as a member of the city council of Northampton, Mass., which was his home town city when he was chosen Vice-President of the United States in 1920.

In 1900 and 1901, he was city solicitor of Northampton. He served in the lower house of the State Legislature in 1907 and 1908 and then was elected Mayor of Northampton, serving two years. Immediately following this he was sent to the State Senate. He served conspicuously there, gaining a State-wide reputation. During the last two years in the Senate he presided over its deliberations.

In the years 1916-18 he served as Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts. His election as Governor in November, 1918, and his re-election a year later were natural sequences in his political career.

Although it is a distinction to serve as Governor of Massachusetts for two terms, it is not certain that even the friendship of so influential a person as former Senator W. Murray Crane

would have been sufficient to compel national recognition of Mr. Coolidge's qualities had not the Boston police strike occurred in 1919, the last of his first term as Governor.

On the night of September 9, at the height of the State campaign, about three-fourths of the members of the Boston police force deserted their posts. The night was one of the most hideous ever experienced in Boston. Lawlessness, hoodlumism, thievery and every form of crime ran riot. There was little or no restraint. The few loyal members of the department who remained at their posts were powerless to restore even a semblance of order.

Edwin U. Curtis was Police Commissioner, and he had forbidden the affiliation of the policemen's union with the American Federation of Labor, being supported by Mayor Peters, a Democrat, who stood shoulder to shoulder with the Governor in the crisis. The issue was never before more definitely drawn between law and order on the one side and lawlessness on the other. Perhaps Governor Coolidge could not have won the battle without the aid of Curtis and Peters. It is certain that the city officials would have been unable to handle the situation without his support.

The issue was one which promised to make or break the political fortunes of Governor Coolidge. He was warned by some friends that opposition to the policemen's union would end in his defeat in the approaching gubernatorial election. His reply was characteristically brief and to the point. He said: "It doesn't matter whether I am Governor of Massachusetts again or not." That is the keynote to his character. He is quoted as having said upon an earlier occasion: "You know politics does not differ especially from anything else. In politics nothing is worth having unless you can have it in the right way."

The police strike became a stepping-stone in his career. It naturally followed that with the opening of the national campaign in 1920 the Republicans of Massachusetts and of the other

New England States looked upon Governor Coolidge as a "favorite son."

He discouraged the effort to nominate him for the Presidency. As early as January, 1920, he issued a public statement refusing to enter any contest for delegates. His nomination and election as Vice-President were honors that came to him and were gratefully received, but had not been definitely sought after.

Brevity and directness are two characteristics of his nature. It is recalled that the President of the Massachusetts Senate in the sessions of 1912-13 unexpectedly failed of re-election and Senator Coolidge became a candidate for the vacancy. So vigorously did he campaign that within a few days he had sufficient pledges to assure himself of the place as presiding officer and he filled this office with marked ability. His acceptance speech of forty-two words on re-election as President of the Senate has become a classic in Massachusetts. In this and in the speech of the preceding year he uttered the two phrases that best indicate his creed, namely, "Do the day's work" and "be brief."

His speech at his inauguration as Vice-President of the United States on March 4, 1921, was also a model of brevity.

* * *

Mrs. Coolidge too is a native of Vermont. She was Miss Grace Goodhue, of Burlington, which is less than 100 miles from her husband's home town, Plymouth. She attended the University of Vermont, which is co-educational, and received her bachelor's degree. The biggest event in her early life was a trip to Syracuse, which she took as a delegate to a Pi Beta Phi convention. In 1915 the fraternity gathered in Berkeley, Cal., and she attended that also. She admitted she was "terribly homesick" on the extended journey.

Mrs. Coolidge did not meet her husband-to-be until she went to Northampton, where she went to train as a teacher. She has

never revealed the details of the meeting nor of their romance. To an interviewer she said, frankly:

"We always felt that those things belonged exclusively to us."

Their sons are John, sixteen, and Calvin, Jr., a year younger. The two boys didn't want to go to Washington in the spring of 1921 to share in the social life at the capital.

"We won't know any of the fellows down there," said Calvin, Jr.

Despite the fact that Mrs. Coolidge is college trained and has had a wider experience than most women on political matters, she never became a suffragist, although now that women have the vote she votes as a citizen's duty. Mrs. Coolidge is deeply religious and passionately devoted to the welfare of her sons.

When her husband was elected Governor of Massachusetts, Mrs. Coolidge was asked why she did not make her home in Boston, the State capital, and receive the full flood of social honor and prestige that was hers for the asking. Her answer was:

"I shall keep my home in Northampton; I love it there, Calvin prefers it, and I know my boys would much rather stay."

Only those who know Mrs. Coolidge realize how very much she disliked "pulling up stakes" at Northampton and moving on to Washington at the time her husband was made Vice-President of the United States. Not that she did not anticipate Washington as a pleasurable experience, but because she had no desire to disturb the ties of a happy home.

"I shall like going to Washington," she said, "but I know I shall like returning to Massachusetts again ever so much better."

As the wife of the Vice-President, Mrs. Coolidge became popular not only in Washington but nationally, after she consented to give up her home in Northampton for the busier life at the capital. She is said to supply, albeit somewhat unostentatiously, some of the tact which many declare would otherwise be lacking in the Coolidge household. This lack of tact, it is said, is not

to be understood as objectionable obstinacy, but rather determination.

Perhaps it can best be illustrated in the words of the Vice-President himself, uttered at the time of the Boston strike: "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time. I am determined to defend the sovereignty of Massachusetts and to maintain the authority and jurisdiction over her public affairs where it has been placed by the Constitution and the laws of her people."

In spite of this quality and a certain natural reserve, the Vice-President made a host of friends for himself in Washington and was at all times the "unofficial observer" of President Harding at Cabinet meetings, which was of decided advantage to him on his accession to the Presidency. He entered upon his great office under sorrowful circumstances, but the nation that so unanimously mourned the passing of Warren G. Harding was almost equally unanimous in its welcome of his constituted successor in the White House.

"In the first trying days of his presidency Mr. Coolidge made impressive use of the circumstances in which he suddenly found himself," said the Chicago Tribune on August 13, 1923. "It was political use against which no protest could be made, entirely inoffensive but within proper limits histrionic. It may have been merely the true political instinct functioning without deliberation.

"The American people find their new President on a Vermont farm, on the southern hills of the Green mountains, pitching hay. One son is in a military training camp. Another is at work in a tobacco field. Mr. Coolidge takes the oath of office in his father's sitting room and from his father, a notary public.

"There in a frame is the old tradition of American democracy in the heart of its birthplace. Every detail of the picture naturally took its place, but the impression created on the public was vivid."

"HAVE FAITH IN AMERICA"

On the second morning after Mr. Harding's death, twenty-four hours after Calvin Coolidge had taken the Presidential oath of allegiance to the Constitution, the general sentiment of the people was well expressed by a New York editor, under the heading "Have Faith in America," as follows:

"The stanchness of America, the certainty of its government, the granite quality of its men, are among the thoughts that press to the forefront of the mind upon this second morning. On the night before last the heart of a President suddenly ceased to beat. So far as fate could dislocate the structure of government the worst was done. The whole vast organization of politics and business which is modern government lost its directing head. The brain and conscience upon which depended America's decision in world affairs and her actions upon a score of major domestic problems functioned no more.

"Yet today, with grief still first in our hearts, there is neither dismay nor doubt. The least comprehending citizen is aware that a force stronger than any man or group of men is in control. A ship fashioned by wise and devoted hands rides securely on.

"It is fitting that Calvin Coolidge should be the American to succeed to command under these circumstances. His faith in America, in the fabric of her government, in the conscience of her people, is his dominant quality. No living American is more keenly understanding of America, her beginnings, the ways of her growth and her stature in maturity. The familiar words he spoke of Massachusetts he meant and, in fact, applied to the whole country. He said when Governor of his State, in Boston, in 1919:

"This ancient faith of Massachusetts, which became the great faith of America, she re-established in her constitution before the army of Washington had gained our independence, declaring

for "a government of laws and not of men." In that faith she still abides. Let him challenge it who dares. All who love Massachusetts, who believe in America, are bound to defend it.'

"Men in haste have always chafed at this conception of government. There are today many Americans who lack the patience for orderly progress, who are weary of law and would pin their faith to men, to strong individuals ready to override law and discover short-cuts to happiness. But the true American way is the Massachusetts way; it is the conservative way in the fine sense of that much-abused term in that it conserves the best of the past while permitting progress in the present.

"The nation is highly fortunate that the powers and duties of the Presidency devolve upon such a Vice-President. There is no real break. There can be no serious hesitation. Security and confidence are felt throughout the country. That stanch character, that unselfish devotion to America, which was Mr. Harding's outstanding gift, is not less plainly written in the career of Calvin Coolidge.

"Through Mr. Harding's wise and generous forethought Mr. Coolidge enters upon his task in full comprehension of its problems, in the closest touch with its affairs. He has sat in the Cabinet throughout the years of his predecessor. He is familiar with the members of the Harding Cabinet, now become his Cabinet. It is a colossal burden that he shoulders, but he is informed and ready.

"To Mr. Coolidge, as he stands, simple and erect upon the threshold of his task, the American people offer their prayers and good wishes for his welfare and success; and they pledge anew their faith in America."

* * *

President Coolidge left Plymouth, Vt., accompanied by Mrs. Coolidge a few hours after he was sworn into the Presidency

by his father, and proceeded to Washington, where he established temporary headquarters in the New Willard Hotel, pending his occupancy of the White House.

Mrs. Harding, returning to Washington after the funeral at Marion, remained for a week in the White House, removing the late President's personal papers from his office, with the assistance of Secretary Christian, and packing her personal effects, being visited several times by Mrs. Coolidge, who had urged her to remain in the Executive Mansion as long as she wished. When Mrs. Harding finally left the White House, on August 11, 1923, she was accompanied by Mrs. Coolidge, who bade her an affectionate farewell as she proceeded to the country home, near Washington, of her close friend, Mrs. McLean, wife of Edward B. McLean, publisher of the Washington Star, for a brief sojourn prior to her expected return to Marion, Ohio, and the sympathetic old-home folk.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION

How Vice-President Coolidge Received the News of President Harding's Death—His First Messages—Dramatic Scene in His Father's House as He Takes the Oath—Departure for Washington—The Presidential Succession—Retains the Harding Cabinet—Comments on the New President.

It was a dramatic scene that ushered in the administration of Warren G. Harding's successor as President of the United States. The only essential ceremony—that of taking the Presidential oath—took place in the "living room" of the farmhouse of John C. Coolidge, father of the New President, near Plymouth, Vt.

Shortly before midnight (eastern standard time) of Thursday, August 2, 1923, Vice-President Calvin Coolidge, spending a vacation with his aged father, was awakened to receive the news of President Harding's death. The Coolidge home is a plain, two-story frame, nestling in the foothills of the Green Mountains. Not since Theodore Roosevelt, while on a hunting trip, received news of the death of President McKinley, has the information of a President's death been carried to his successor in such simple and rugged surroundings.

The first intimation reached Mr. Coolidge through telegrams from George B. Christian, Jr., secretary to President Harding, and from the New York Times, whose message was delivered at the same moment as the notification from Mr. Christian.

Mr. Coolidge at once issued the following statement:

"Reports have reached me, which I fear are correct, that President Harding is gone. The world has lost a great and good man.

I mourn his loss. He was my chief and my friend. It will be my purpose to carry out the policies which he has begun for the service of the American people and for meeting their responsibilities wherever they may arise.

"For this purpose, I shall seek the co-operation of all those who have been associated with the President during his term of office. Those who have given their efforts to assist him I wish to remain in office, that they may assist me.

"I have faith that God will direct the destinies of our nation."

The following telegram was sent by Mr. and Mrs. Coolidge to Mrs. Harding:

"Plymouth, Vt., August 3, 1923.

"Mrs. Warren G. Harding, San Francisco, Cal.: We offer you our deepest sympathy. May God bless you and keep you.

"CALVIN COOLIDGE,

"GRACE COOLIDGE."

The telegram announcing the death of the President was as follows:

"Palace Hotel, San Francisco, Cal., August 3, 1923.—Mr. Calvin Coolidge, Plymouth, Vt.: The President died, instantaneously and without warning, while conversing with members of his family, at 7:30 p. m. His physicians report that death was apparently due to some brain embolism, probably an apoplexy.

"GEORGE B. CHRISTIAN, JR.,

"Secretary."

This telegram was taken to the Coolidge home at Plymouth Notch by W. A. Perkins of Bridgewater, owner of the telephone line running from Bridgewater to Plymouth. About five minutes later newspaper men arrived in Ludlow. A drive of thirty miles through the mountains took them to the Coolidge farm.

Mr. and Mrs. Coolidge had retired about an hour before the death messages were received. Ten minutes after the arrival of the newspaper men they appeared in the sitting-room of the

Coolidge home. Mr. Coolidge was dressed in a black sack suit and wore a black necktie. Mrs. Coolidge wore a black and white gown. Mr. Coolidge was very pale and showed deep regret for President Harding's death. He seated himself at a table, while Mrs. Coolidge brought a lamp and read once more the telegrams he had received. He then called his assistant secretary, Irwin Geisser, and dictated to him his statement and the telegram to Mrs. Harding.

The sound of the arrival of automobiles aroused most of the residents of Plymouth Notch and a dozen or fifteen of them gathered on the veranda of the Coolidge house. Mrs. Coolidge expressed concern over Mrs. Harding. "She bears up wonderfully well under difficulties," Mrs. Coolidge said, referring to Mrs. Harding. "She will need all her courage now."

Mr. Coolidge directed that a room be prepared for the use of the newspaper men, many of whom arrived on trains later in the morning.

John C. Coolidge, the father of the Vice-President, had appeared downstairs before his son. The aged man, obviously deeply grieved at the news, went out on the veranda and chatted in low, solemn tones with the neighbors. The scene both on the veranda and in the living-room of the Coolidge place was a curiously impressive one, as the Vice-President's father, and his wife offered their son their blessing in view of the onerous task that had devolved upon him.

John, the eldest of Mr. and Mrs. Calvin Coolidge's two boys, had left on Wednesday for the military training camp at Camp Devens. He did not learn until later in the day that his father had become President of the United States.

The younger son, Calvin, Jr., 16 years old, was not awakened when the rest of the house was aroused by the startling news that President Harding was dead. It was decided not to tell him until morning that he was to live in the White House.

SWORN IN BY HIS FATHER

Mr. Coolidge took the oath as President of the United States by the dim light of a flickering oil lamp. He was sworn in by his aged father, a notary public.

Other Presidents have taken the oath on a high rostrum before the Capitol at Washington, with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court administering it, with troops drawn up in glittering array, with bands, and flags and vast, cheering crowds of witnesses. Calvin Coolidge was inaugurated in a small room, just across the road from the house where he was born, in the early hours of the morning, with his old father, unshaven and collarless, handing him the well-thumbed family Bible, in the presence of his wife, Congressman Porter H. Dale, L. L. Lane, president of the Railway Mail Association of New England, Secretary Geisser of the Vice-President's Washington office, and Joseph H. Fountain, editor of a Springfield, Vt., newspaper.

These were all that witnessed the solemn, simple ceremony—made all the more solemn by the knowledge that death had just taken his predecessor with shocking suddenness, and by the somber surroundings. There was no music save the lonesome chirping of crickets outside, no acclaim save the whispers of a few of the neighbors who gathered near the house and murmured to one another: "Cal is being sworn in as President, in there."

The decision to take the oath at once came after receipt of a telegram from Attorney-General Daugherty in San Francisco, urging such a course. There were no preliminaries. The witnesses gathered in the parlor, which during the years had been the scene of many events that bulk big in the history of the Coolidge family, but which had never been thought of as the setting for such an event as the inauguration of the thirtieth President of the United States.

John Coolidge, the father, 78 years of age, but still spry, had been aroused from sleep, and looked it. He came into the room coatless and collarless, and then at the last minute bowed to the

formalities by pulling on his coat. He picked up the old Bible in which the family record is kept, and looked at his son. They stood facing each other while the words of the oath were uttered, their faces gaunt in the yellow lamplight, the rest of the room in shadow. With the exception of Mr. Fountain, there were no reporters in the room—it was probably the first inauguration in history without them, but those who saw it described it afterward in intimate detail, as the scene had graven itself upon their memory.

Mr. Coolidge stood beside a little table with his right hand upraised as his father read the oath:

"I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

In the deep silence which followed Mr. Coolidge said:

"I will, so help me God."

The new President immediately began preparations to leave for Washington, and arrived at the Capital by special train late that night. He took up his residence in the White House on August 20, 1923.

In accordance with the promise of his first public statement, President Coolidge sought to retain the services of all the members of the Harding Cabinet, and there were no changes with the incoming of the new Administration.

THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION

Following is the Act of Congress, approved January 19, 1886, providing for the performance of the duties of the office of President in case of the removal, death, resignation or inability both of the President and Vice-President of the United States:

"Be it enacted, etc. That in case of the removal, death, registration, or, inability of both the President and Vice-President of the United States, the Secretary of State, or if there be none, or in case of his removal, death, resignation or inability, then the

Secretary of the Treasury, or if there be none, or in case of his removal, death, resignation or inability, then the Secretary of War, or if there be none, or in case of his removal, death, resignation or inability, then the Attorney-General, or if there be none, or in case of his removal, death, resignation or inability, then the Postmaster-General, or if there be none, or in the case of his removal, death, resignation or inability, then the Secretary of the Navy, or if there be none, or in case of his removal, death, resignation or inability, the Secretary of the Interior shall act as President until the disability of the President or Vice-President is removed or a President shall be elected.

"Provided, That whenever the powers and duties of the office of President of the United States shall devolve upon any of the ~~persons~~ named herein if Congress be not then in session, or if it should not meet in accordance with law within twenty days thereafter, it shall be the duty of the person upon whom said powers and duties shall devolve to issue a proclamation convening congress in extraordinary session, giving twenty days' notice of the time of meeting.

"Sec. 2. That the preceding section shall only be held to apply to such officers as shall have been appointed by the advice and consent of the Senate to the offices therein named, and such as are eligible to the office of President under the Constitution, and not under impeachment by the House of Representatives of the United States at the time the powers and duties of the office shall devolve upon them respectively."

It is assumed that should the remote contingency arise that the foregoing Cabinet officers are all ineligible or unavailable then the other Cabinet officers in the order in which their offices were created will fill the office of President temporarily. Thus the order of succession would be:

Secretary of State.

Secretary of the Treasury.

Secretary of War.

The Attorney-General.
The Postmaster-General.
Secretary of the Navy.
Secretary of the Interior.
Secretary of Commerce.
Secretary of Labor.

Should the man elected President die or in any way become ineligible between the time of the meeting of the Electoral College and the following March 4th, the Vice-President would become President.

HARDING TREATIES ARE SIGNED

One of the early events in the Administration of President Coolidge—a sequel to an achievement of his predecessor—was the signing of the treaties drafted by the Washington Arms Conference, and the beginning of the task of “scrapping” naval vessels.

Seated on August 17, 1923, about a table in the State Department, five men recorded the final approval of the Powers for the treaties designed to end naval competition, terminate the Anglo-Japanese alliance, and sweep away the war clouds that have hovered for decades over the Pacific Ocean.

It was an epilogue to the Washington negotiations, and it had been planned to give the place of honor to President Harding at whose call the Conference assembled; but instead the formal deposit of ratifications was performed almost without ceremony.

Secretary Hughes and his colleagues met in the diplomatic reception room, in the presence of only a handful of spectators, including officials of the department, messengers, and representatives of the press.

Ambassador Hanihara acted for Japan and the other Powers were represented by members of their embassies. H. O. Chilton acting for Great Britain, Capt. André de la Boulaye for France, and Augusto Rosso for Italy.

Mr. Hughes sat at the head of the table, with the foreign diplomats facing each other at the sides. Without preliminaries the Secretary of State announced the purpose of the gathering, and added that at an earlier meeting in his office the ratifications had been examined and found complete.

By prearrangement a telephone flash went to the Navy Department at the moment the last name had been written on the naval limitation pact. The ink had not dried on the signatures before orders were speeding over the wires which meant the scrapping of 750,000 tons in fighting ships, new and old, from the United States Navy list.

"The Navy starts at once," Acting Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt said, "to scrap all ships other than those to be retained under provisions of the treaty.

"Of these eleven ships are under construction, seven of which are battleships located as follows: The Indiana and South Dakota, Navy Yard, New York; the Montana, Navy Yard, Mare Island; the North Carolina, Navy Yard, Norfolk; the Michigan, Bethlehem Shipbuilding Company, Newport News, Va., and the Washington, New York Shipbuilding Corporation, Camden, N. J.

"The battle cruisers Lexington and Saratoga, under provisions of the treaty, are being converted into airplane carriers. The other four battle cruisers, the Constitution and United States at Philadelphia and the Constellation and Ranger at Newport News, will be scrapped at once.

"No action is being taken at the present time for the disposition of the Delaware and North Dakota, now abroad on the midshipmen's practice cruise, as the treaty does not require that these be scrapped until the Colorado and West Virginia are placed in commission.

Scrapping may be effected under the treaty by "permanent sinking," by breaking the vessel up, with attendant destruction or removal of "all machinery, boilers, armor and deck, side, and bot-

tom plating," or by converting the vessel to target use. The number of vessels which can be used for targets is limited.

All ships listed for scrapping must be rendered "unserviceable for purposes of war" within six months, and the actual breakup must be finished within eighteen months.

From advices to the Navy Department the following summary was made of the progress of the programs abroad prior to exchange of ratification:

British Empire—Total to be scrapped, twenty-four old ships, of 500,000 tons; new ships, none. Proposed construction of four capital ships abandoned before keels were laid and work begun on two capital ships of smaller tonnage. Eighteen old ships rendered incapable of war service, seventeen already having been sold.

Japan—Total to be scrapped, ten old ships of 163,000 tons and two new ships of 77,000 tons. Work on the capital ships held in state of suspension since signing of treaty and armament removed from nine obsolete ships.

France and Italy—Present navies not affected by the scrapping program.

COMMENTS ON THE NEW PRESIDENT

When President Coolidge entered upon his administration, Judge Elbert H. Gary, Chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, spoke of him in a manner which reflected the general opinion of the business men of America. He said:

"While the new President is more or less reticent and not the same kind of a mixer among business men as was Mr. Harding, yet he has the respect and confidence of everyone as a business administrator. His high qualities as a public official are not limited to political statesmanship. He has demonstrated on many conspicuous occasions that he is alive to the financial, commercial and industrial needs of the country, and that he stands for the protection of property and the welfare of individuals alike. Beyond doubt, as President he will give evidence of a knowledge

of the questions which come within the purview of a President relating to the affairs of every department of business life.

"All in all, he will make a good President and he will probably be the nominee of the Republican party in the next election. Naturally, everything will depend upon the attitude he takes and the public expressions he indulges in, but as he is a close student, a thoughtful man, fair-minded and experienced, we need have no fear of his failure to give satisfaction to the whole people."

"The induction of President Coolidge into office was characteristic of our scheme of government and its orderly processes," said the Cincinnati Times-Star. "Suddenly, in San Francisco, the President of the United States dies. Near Plymouth, Vermont, at the home of his father, is the Vice-President, so far from an urban center that he is reached with difficulty and delay. Quietly, in the sitting room of a New England farm house, Calvin Coolidge takes the oath of office, administered by his father, who is a Notary Public. A Notary Public is the lowest form of official life in this country. Its function merely is the mechanical one of imparting the convention of the law to the unconventional. And yet so great are the magic of the law and the efficacy of mere words, that the lowliest of offices sufficed to fill the highest of offices. It was sufficient to throw the invisible robes over the waiting shoulders of Calvin Coolidge.

Within a few hours Calvin Coolidge, surrounded by all the safeguards and panoply that do hedge a President, was on his way to the capital. But that simple scene in a Vermont farm house, of a Notary Public making his boy, Calvin, President of the United States, remains. It was an American coup d'état, and in itself is an augury of good for the years of service that remain to the President."

"Bereaved America turns with confidence to Calvin Coolidge," said another editorial commentator on the morning he assumed office. "President Coolidge comes to the White House with the faith of the people in his proved integrity and courage. The man

who governed well the great commonwealth of Massachusetts is equipped for this high office. In a time such as the present, demanding stability, sincere conviction and wisdom, the country is fortunate that it chose for the vice-presidency such a man as this.

"There will be no departure from that simplicity and stalwartness of American character which marked his predecessor. President Coolidge has lived close to the people of his State; he knows them in the same neighborly way that the man whose death we mourn knew the people of Marion. He holds the ideals of justice and honesty and decency, of service and duty, which are the bed-rock foundation of America's strength.

"In assuming the heavy burdens of the Presidency he is assured that from every section of the country there will come to him the loyal support of a people, who, at this hour, sorrow with him over the passing of his chief. May God guide and sustain him in the leadership of the nation."

* * *

Presidents Who Died in Office

Six times the nation has now mourned the death of a President in office and three times it was an assassin's bullet that took the life of the Chief Executive. Three of the six Presidents were from Ohio.

It has been twenty-two years since a President died during his term of office when William McKinley expired in Buffalo.

The first to die while President was William Henry Harrison. After serving just one month of his four years he died of a pleurisy attack April 14, 1841. The end came while he was in the White House. He was 68 years old.

Nine years later the second President died in the White House. He was Zachary Taylor, and when he expired of bilious fever on July 9, 1850, he had served one year, four months and five days. He was 65 years old.

An assassin claimed the life of Abraham Lincoln. April 14, 1865, President Lincoln was shot and he died the next day. He had served four years, one month and eleven days, and he was 56 years old.

The second President assassinated and fourth to die in office was James A. Garfield. He was shot in the Pennsylvania Station at Washington July 2, 1881, and the end came more than two months later, Sept. 19, 1881, in Elberon, N. J. He had been President only six and a half months and was 49 years old.

Assassination claimed President William McKinley. While in the Temple of Music at the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo the President was shot twice. Eight days later he died, having served four years, six months and ten days, and he was 58 years old.

President Harding had been Chief Executive two years, four months and twenty-nine days.

The bodies of Presidents Garfield, McKinley and Harding, who died in office, rest in Ohio. Rutherford B. Hayes, 19th President of the United States, who died January 17, 1893, is also buried in Ohio in private ground near Fremont.

President Garfield was buried in Lake View Cemetery in Cleveland, and President McKinley was buried in the cemetery at Canton.

President Harding's body rests in his home town, Marion, Ohio.

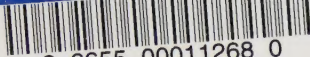
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